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Baker to Press Israel and Arabs On Peace Talks

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Service
SHANNON, Ireland — Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d acknowledged Thursday that it would be difficult to slow the arms race in the Middle East following the war with Iraq and said the United States would turn to the United Nations Security Council in search of a wider solution while continuing arms sales to the region.

At the same time, a senior U.S. official said that Mr. Baker, beginning a 10-day visit to the Middle East to explore postwar peace prospects, had not scheduled a meeting with Palestinians on this trip out of concern that it would further complicate the fallout from the war, although Mr. Baker would be open if Palestinians asked for such a meeting.

"We have not requested meetings with Palestinians because they are in a state of turmoil in the aftermath of the conflict, and we don't want to in any way exacerbate that," the senior official said.

The secretary of state has said he was working on a two-track approach to the Arab-Israeli dispute, seeking closer state-to-state links between Israel and its enemies, and also encouraging a dialogue between Israel and the Palestinians.

The Palestine Liberation Organization chairman, Yasser Arafat, backed Iraq in the crisis, further damaging his credibility and his influence on the peace process.

There has been speculation that the United States would seek to generate a new Palestinian leadership with help from Saudi Arabia, and the senior official said one reason Mr. Baker had not scheduled any meeting with Palestinians is because he did not want to be seen "to somehow be anointing certain Palestinians" for a leadership role.

Speaking to reporters on the first leg of his trip, Mr. Baker struck a cautious tone on the Arab-Israeli conflict, saying he would not discuss the issue until he had met with Israeli and Arab leaders.

On arms control, Mr. Baker indicated that the United States would attempt to focus attention on the spread of weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the missiles that carry them, rather than seek immediately to stanch the flow of conventional arms to the region, such as a planned sale of U.S. F-16 fighters to Egypt.

Although Mr. Baker and Mr. Bush have endorsed regional arms control in theory, they appear to be taking a cautious approach to the flood of warplanes, tanks and other weaponry that has made the region a flashpoint for war. In his address to Congress, Mr. Bush referred broadly to weapons of mass destruction, but did not specifically mention conventional arms.

Mr. Baker said that he would visit Kuwait on Saturday for talks with the prime minister and crown prince, Sheikh Saad al Abdullah al Sabah, and would see the emir, Sheikh Jaber al Ahmad al Sabah, earlier in the day in Taif, Saudi Arabia.

Concerning Israel, the senior official noted the call by Mr. Bush for territorial concessions by Israel in exchange for peace.

The speech was interpreted by Israeli sources as further evidence that the Bush administration would continue to pressure the government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir for concessions.

For the last two years, Mr. Baker and Mr. Bush have been pushing Israeli leaders to open talks with Palestinians in the territories and ultimately to give up the lands seized in the 1967 and 1973 wars.

"It does not appear to me that the occupied territories played any part in mitigating the Scud attacks," the senior official said. "Some could argue just the reverse — that in this day of weapons of that nature — that ground, the occupied territories as such, does not afford the kind of security that it might have in the past."

These comments appeared to indicate that Mr. Baker, in his talks in Israel, may skirt the land-for-peace formula, which Israel has long rejected, and instead place emphasis on the two-track approach.

Mr. Baker said he would talk with the Arab leaders about interim ideas, such as confidence-building measures, that could be used to bring the two sides closer together but would fall short of formal recognition of Israel's right to exist.

Jubilant Kuwaiti Hostages Go Home, Allies to Return 60,000 Iraqi POWs



A U.S. soldier waving a victory sign from a bus during a stopover at Frankfurt's U.S. Rhine-Main air base on his flight from Doha to Fort Stewart, Georgia. The soldiers who left the Gulf Thursday will begin arriving at home bases on Friday. About 7,000 troops should be home by Saturday, and 7,000 others shortly afterward. It is expected to take months to bring most of the 540,000 troops home.

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
SAFWAN, Iraq — Trucks and buses loaded with Kuwaiti hostages began streaming home Thursday night after Iraq and the U.S.-led Gulf allies agreed to exchange tens of thousands of captives from the six-week Gulf war.

Iraq, isolated abroad and facing rebellion at home, said earlier in the day that it would free 2,000 Kuwaiti hostages.

Several hours after nightfall, the first trucks and buses loaded with Kuwaiti hostages rolled through Safwan, just north of the Kuwaiti border, where peace talks were held Sunday and where new consultations took place Thursday.

The Kuwaitis, packed into 17 vehicles in a raucous, jubilant mass, waved and shouted as they streamed toward home. Many waved the "V" sign for victory, while others cried in English, "Hello" and "U.S.A., U.S.A."

Iraqi officials and local Red Cross delegates said that up to 29 Western journalists of about 40 reported missing in southern Iraq would also be released, but the International Committee of the Red Cross said in Geneva that it did not have enough information to substantiate the report.

The Red Cross said locally that both sides had agreed to send home tens of thousands of Iraqi prisoners of war and Kuwaiti civilians as soon as possible.

A spokesman for International Committee of the Red Cross, Jean Rigopoulos, said in Riyadh that the pact involved a return of about 60,000 Iraqi prisoners of war held by the allies, and Kuwaitis detained or taken from Kuwait by the Iraqi Army during the occupation.

Iraq has already returned 45 allied prisoners of war and says it holds no more.

About 40,000 Kuwaiti soldiers and civilians were abducted during Iraq's occupation of the Gulf emirate, which was recaptured by U.S.-led allied forces a week ago. The missing journalists disappeared after the war ended, while attempting to report on civil disturbances in Basra, southern Iraq.

The release of the Kuwaitis was preceded by confusion, and the fate of the missing journalists remained unclear.

In an unusual move before the Kuwaitis arrived in Safwan, the Geneva headquarters of the Red Cross, responding to the report that the hostages would be freed, expressed regret that "this unsubstantiated information has been issued." It said it did not have "all the necessary information to substantiate such a report."

The statement from Geneva was issued after Iraqi officers met Thursday in Safwan with allied military officials and asked the Red Cross to supervise the hand-over.

A Red Cross official in Kuwait, Gian Battista Bercheta, said the Iraqis told his organization that 29 of the journalists would be turned over to the Red Cross as early as Friday.

But in Washington, a Pentagon spokesman said the administration had been unable to confirm that the journalists would be released. The White House said it was holding Iraq responsible for the journalists' safety.

The journalists, who have been missing since Sunday, were apparently captured while attempting to cover the uprising against Mr. Hussein in Basra. They work for news organizations from the United States, France, Britain, Norway, Italy and Brazil.

A list compiled by the U.S. military in Riyadh said that 35 journalists were missing and three more may have disappeared. The list did not include two Norwegians reported missing by their employers.

Iraq has agreed to honor United Nations resolutions on Kuwait's sovereignty and has quickly released allied prisoners of war.

Since losing the war to the allies, President Saddam Hussein of Iraq has been struggling to suppress an uprising by the Shiite Muslim religious opposition in southeastern Iraq and by Kurdish insurgents in the northwest.

U.S. military sources said Wednesday that forces loyal to Mr. Hussein were gaining the upper hand in Basra, but this was contested Thursday by Iraqi Islamic revolutionaries, who said that the city was in rebel hands and that thousands of Iraqi troops had been captured.

The U.S. defense secretary, Dick Cheney, said Thursday that civil violence was spreading northwards in Iraq but that Mr. Hussein still appeared to have the upper hand.

There were also reports that the United Arab Emirates had agreed but a U.S. official said he could not confirm this. (Reuters, AP, AP)

Defeated Baghdad's Market of Rumors

By Lee Hockstader
Washington Post Service
LEEDS, England — Lee Hockstader left Baghdad on Wednesday after an eight-day stop. All news reports filed from Baghdad must be submitted to Iraqi censorship. This report was not submitted to Iraqi censorship and was filed Wednesday night from Amman, Jordan.

BAGHDAD — This city is in a dark mood, torn between grief and sullen fury.

A week after President Saddam Hussein's forces fled Kuwait in the face of the allied blitzkrieg, nearly everyone, it seems, has been swept up in the aftermath of defeat and defeat. With each passing day, the traumatic accounts of Iraq's military fiasco spread through Baghdad, each story worse than the last, passed among parents, neighbors and friends.

At bus stops along the main arteries outside the city, it is even possible to watch the news travel, as each soldier tells his tale, surrounded by clumps of civilians listening intently. Parents and wives, starved of word from their sons and husbands and unable to telephone any authority for news, jam the capital's main bus depots in hopes they will glimpse a familiar face.

Residents say the capital's bus stations, filled with anguished relatives of soldiers, have become so volatile that they are chockablock with plainclothes security men ready to smother any spark of passion against the regime.

"My three brothers were all in Kuwait, and we wait every day for them to come," a civil servant said. "I go to my mother at night to hear if there is news, but up to now there is nothing. My mother cries."

In hushed tones, shopkeepers and taxi drivers trade the scant news of uprisings to the south and to the north, repeating what they have heard on Western broadcasts, murmuring in quiet, amazed voices the names of the affected cities: Basra, An Najaf, Karbala, Sulaimaniya.

Unverifiable rumors — some dubious, some plausible — have become Baghdad's newest currency, avidly traded in the streets and markets and among the handful of Western journalists; that President Hussein's wife has received a facial injury from shrapnel in the bombing and has been treated by Baghdad's finest physician; that Mr. Hussein's son was killed in Basra (a rumor the son denounced Wednesday as "crows croaking and dogs barking"); that there are 85,000 Iraqi dead, or 170,000 or 250,000.

Western journalists in Baghdad normally operate under severe restrictions and residents are reluctant to say anything to reporters. But in the aftermath of the war, some people had been speaking more freely and before they were ordered to leave, reporters recently had been able to interview Iraqis without the inhibiting presence of government "minders."

In the aftermath of one of the most one-sided wars in modern history, the city is a place of confusion and uncertainty. (See BAGHDAD, Page 6)

Shamir Envisages 'Helsinki' Process

By Jackson Diehl
Washington Post Service
JERUSALEM — Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has decided to stand by his failed 1989 plan for Israeli-Arab peace as an opening strategy in the diplomatic process now beginning in the Middle East, government officials said Thursday.

At the same time, Mr. Shamir's rightist government hopes to encourage a new U.S.-brokered effort to initiate confidence-building measures between Israel and Arab states, officials say. Such steps, modeled on the Cold War-era Helsinki talks in Europe, could serve as an intermediate stage between the present state of war between Israel and Arab countries and full recognition, the officials say.

As the government prepared for the visit here Monday of James A. Baker 3d, the U.S. secretary of state, it reacted guardedly to the address by President George Bush to Congress, in which he called for a settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict based on the surrender by Israel of occupied Arab territories.

[The Palestine Liberation Organization welcomed "positive elements" of the Bush speech, Reuters reported. A statement by the PLO Executive Committee said it approved references to UN resolutions on "ending the Israeli occupation of Palestinian and Arab lands, ensuring the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national independence."

Mr. Shamir and the religious and rightist parties in his coalition staunchly oppose any Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights or East Jerusalem.

In an apparent effort to foster a positive atmosphere for the Baker visit, Mr. Shamir's spokesman said Thursday.

See SHAMIR, Page 3

Bush's New Muscle: A Nudge and a Push

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Service
WASHINGTON — President George Bush, at a pinnacle of popularity at home and influence abroad, has outlined how he will employ his new strength: In the Middle East, a nudge of Israel into compromises that could produce a more peaceful region; at home, a challenge to the Democratic Congress to produce on its terms or be blamed for the nation's ills.

A senior administration official said that Mr. Bush's address to a joint session of Congress on Wednesday amounted to "the first political rally" of the 1992 election, and the domestic call to Democrats, amid the flags and yellow ribbons produced for the event by the Republicans, had the air of a campaign challenge.

But the 40-minute paean to America's victory over Iraq also established some firm foreign policy goals for the administration in the weeks ahead, including the challenge to Israel, and the commitment to maintain a larger military presence in the Gulf than before the war.

Less than a day before James A. Baker 3d left on a trip to the region that will include his first visit to Israel as secretary of state, Mr. Bush put aside praise for Israel's restraint in the Gulf war and instead challenged Israel and the Arab states to accept compromises as the only route to peace.

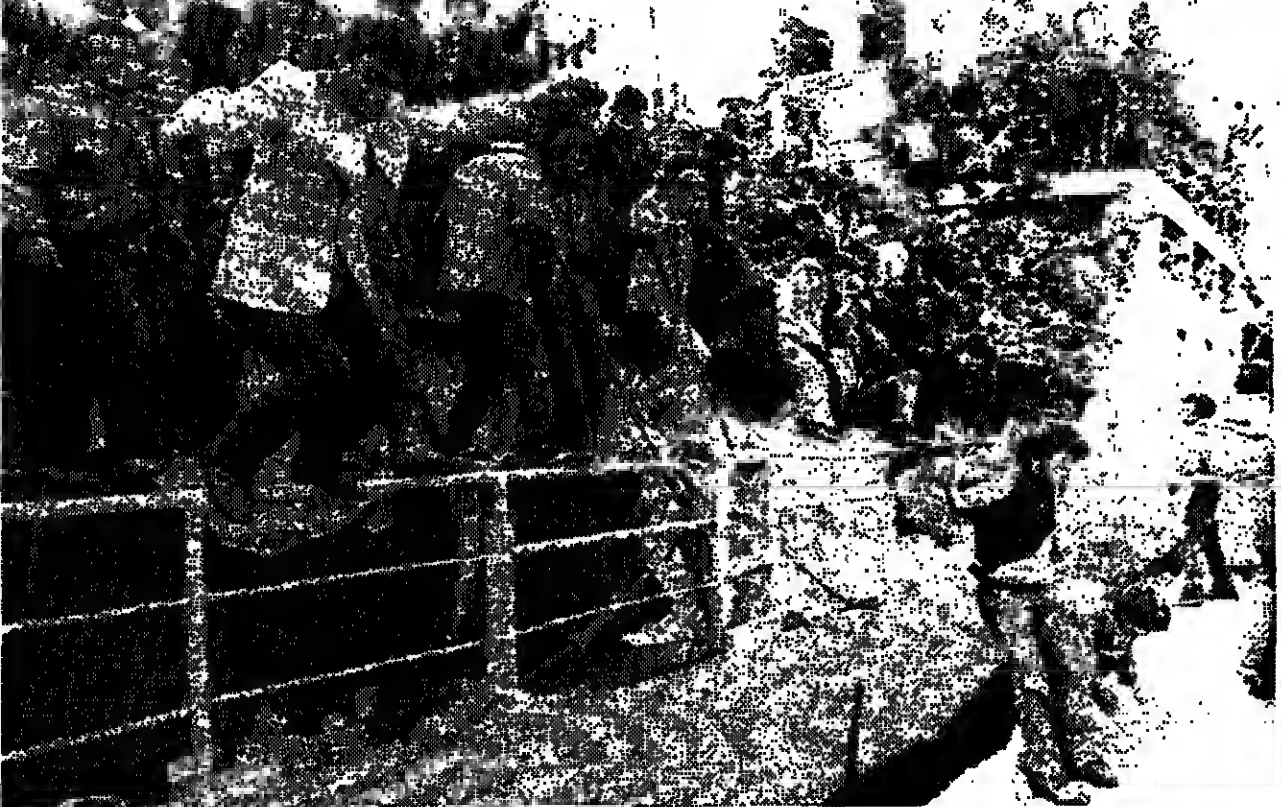
"By now, it should be plain to all parties that peace-making in the Middle East requires compromise," Mr. Bush said, after noting that in the Gulf conflict, Israel and many of the Arab states for the first time "found themselves confronting the same aggressor."

Mr. Bush, in a clear commitment, pledged that securing the peace in the Middle East will be a priority beyond the rhetoric that presidents often devote to that complex, unyielding region. "The time has come to put an end to the

See BUSH, Page 6

Vessels Run Blockade to Let Albanians Land in Italy

Albanian refugees jumping onto the dock at Brindisi, Italy, on Thursday, after two ships and a barge ran a blockade and tied up at the port. In the past week, 20,000 Albanians have arrived in Italy. The Albanian government put the port of Durres under military control Thursday in an attempt to stem the flow of refugees from the hard-line Communist nation. Page 2.



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Asians Urge Japan to Be Peacekeeper

By Michael Richardson
International Herald Tribune
SINGAPORE — Southeast Asian nations, in a major shift of policy, have decided to encourage Japan to take part in United Nations peacekeeping operations in the region, paving the way for a major Japanese role in a settlement of the Cambodia conflict.

Countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations, or ASEAN, have previously balked at proposals to give Japan a direct security role in the region, fearing it might rekindle Japanese militarism.

And some officials said Thursday that despite the emerging ASEAN consensus they remain wary of endorsing any overseas deployment of Japanese troops for the first time since the end of World War II.

But Asian analysts said that the shift in ASEAN thinking would now allow Tokyo a central role in the UN plan for peace in Cambodia. The plan has been backed by key outside powers and Cambodia guerrilla groups, although it continues to face opposition from the government in Phnom Penh. The plan calls UN-administered free elections in Cambodia, a ceasefire and verification.

[The Chinese Foreign Ministry, in what appeared to be a policy shift, said Thursday that Beijing would not stop military aid to guerrillas until a comprehensive political settlement of the civil war was reached. Reuters reported from Beijing. China has sent arms to the Khmer Rouge faction in the guerrilla front.]

The ASEAN members — Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Brunei — were occupied by Japan in World War II. All but Thailand suffered heavily.

But officials and analysts say a consensus has emerged that an increasingly influential political and security role for Japan in the region is an inevitable consequence of its extensive economic power, the di-

Kiosk Dutch Vote Is Setback for Leaders

THE HAGUE (AP) — Dutch newspapers on Thursday predicted serious problems for the government of Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers after the center-left coalition was trounced in provincial elections seen as a test of government fiscal policies.

Hardest hit in the voting Wednesday was the Labor Party led by Deputy Prime Minister Wim Kok, which saw its percentage of the vote drop to 20.4 percent, from 31.9 percent in the 1989 elections. Support for Mr. Lubbers's party, the Christian Democratic Appeal, dropped to 32.6 percent, from 35.3 percent.

"Sooner or later the coalition will become unworkable as a result of the tensions that this election result will unavoidably bring about," said Het Parool, an Amsterdam newspaper.

General News
The war has revealed the need for an EC military role, Jacques Delors said. Page 2.

On Dan Quayle, polls show no surge of confidence. Page 6.

Milan Fashion
Feathers and fur buoy a sluggish season. Page 2.

Business/Finance
Chrysler, trying to save cash, halved its dividend. Page 11.

Crossword
Page 3.

The Dollar
in New York
Dollars 1.546
Pounds 1.8896
Yen 132.52
FF 5.2665

East German Auto-Biography

By Stephen Kinzer
New York Times Service
CHEMNITZ, Germany — As eastern Germany spirals toward economic collapse, people who live here have found a way to escape from the onrushing specter of unemployment and social upheaval.

They visit the local theater and see "Go Trabi Go," the first film comedy about German reunification. It makes them laugh not precisely at themselves, but at the absurdities of the system under which they lived until last year.

In the six weeks since "Go Trabi Go" was released, more than 600,000 Germans have seen it, which makes it one of the most successful German films of recent years. It is playing in 125 theaters across the country and is drawing big crowds in western as well as eastern cities.

The film tells the story of a father, mother and daughter from the bleak Saxon town of Bitterfeld who, finally free to travel abroad, pack into their Trabi and drive toward Italy.

All three leading actors turn in lively performances, but the real star of the show is the Trabi.

Probably no symbol of the former East Germany is as widely recognized and ridiculed as the ugly, polluting Trabi, or Trabi, as it is affectionately known.

"You had to wait 10 or 15 years to get one, and when you did, you cherished it," said Wolfgang Stumpf, who plays the father. "Your Trabi was part of the family. It represented your connection to the world."

"The Trabi was a lot like East Germany. It was far from perfect, but somehow it worked. You had to improvise every day to keep it going. It was small and smelly and it broke down a lot, but it was what we had."

Mr. Stumpf, a well-known satirist and cabaret performer from Dresden, portrays a high-school German teacher entranced with Goethe's accounts of his travels in Italy. When East Germany's Communist government collapses, he resolves to live out his lifelong dream of following Goethe's path.

He paints the slogan "See Naples and Die!" on the back of his Trabi, packs his wife and daughter inside, and sets out.

The family's first contact with the West is in Bavaria, where a brother-in-law lives. He turns out to be a fat, boorish character who personifies the excess of West Germany's self-satisfied prosperity.

When the noisy, overloaded Trabi pulls up in front

See TRABI, Page 6

AFTERMATH: At what point does an arms sale contribute to a militarized Middle East?

Washington's Juggling Act: Weapons for Mideast Allies but None for Arms Race

By Don Oberdorfer
and R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — In the aftermath of the war against Iraq, the Bush administration has declared its interest in shaping a less militarized Middle East, but it also has asked Congress to approve the \$1.6 billion sale of highly sophisticated F-16 warplanes to Egypt.

The contradiction between the hope of reducing arms flows into the heavily militarized region and the advocacy of the first major U.S. weapons sale since the end of the Gulf War points up a dilemma facing U.S. policymakers. As Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d arrives in the Middle East intent on taking advantage of new prospects for peace in the region, he also must deal with existing U.S. commitments to protect regional allies.

President George Bush said "it would be tragic" if a new arms race were to develop in the Gulf and Middle East, and called for action to control "the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the missiles used to deliver them." But Mr. Baker on his visit is taking no prescription for regional arms control measures, according to a senior Defense Department official who said Mr. Baker would instead "take soundings" on the issue.

The official said the administration is determined to bolster the arsenals of friendly Arab states in the Gulf — nations that, he added, remain less powerful individually

than Iraq. Only in this context of building up the weaker states, he said, would the administration consider regional arms constraints.

"There is no conflict between any conceivable regime of control" and plans for new arms sales because the intended recipients in the Gulf "are starting out so weak to begin with," the official said.

The administration sent Congress late last week the proposal to sell Egypt 46 F-16 jets, 1,528 bombs and 80 air-to-ground missiles. Shortly before that, the administration also submitted a classified report saying it was considering more than \$18 billion in new sales of arms to five of the nations that assisted in Operation Desert Storm — Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Egypt and Turkey.

About \$10 billion of the arms sales involves proposed sales to Saudi Arabia. A State Department official said no decision had been made to proceed with the listed items.

Representative Lee H. Hamilton, Democrat of Indiana and chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, said he was troubled by the planned sale to Egypt because "I don't want to see us barge ahead" while there was a chance to use the postwar momentum to "stop the arms spiral." At the same time, Mr. Hamilton said, Egypt remains "a

staunch friend" that was part of the coalition against Iraq.

A State Department official, asked to explain how the administration could be both for and against major arms sales to the Middle East, said comparing the proposed sale to Egypt with a general desire for arms restraint was like comparing "an apple and an orange."

He said the planned sale to Egypt is the last part of a 10-year program to equip Egypt with U.S. weapons rather than Soviet weapons following the 1978 Camp David accords. "To pull the plug on a 10-year program wouldn't be the right signal" to the region, the official said.

Mr. Baker, in testimony about the Middle East before House and Senate committees last month, declared, "The time has come to try to change the destructive pattern of military competition and proliferation in this region and to reduce arms flow into an area that is already overmilitarized."

Since then, Mr. Baker has discussed the possibility of arms limitations with a number of foreign ministers from Western arms-producing states, including Britain, France, Italy and Canada. He told one minister that the prewar arms buildup in Iraq was "absurd," according to diplomatic sources, and said an attempt to control arms flows into the region was an important aspect of current U.S. thinking.

"One of the things in Jim Baker's kit bag will be, 'Let's have serious conversations' and 'Here's why we think something like this would be in your interest,'" said a senior administration official familiar with the planning for Mr. Baker's 10-day trip to Arab states, Israel and the Soviet Union.

"It's hard to see how any state in the region benefits from all their neighbors being armed to the teeth. So in principle there ought to be some predisposition to save resources and prevent one's neighbors from gaining the means to blow you to smithereens."

Dennis Ross, the policy planning chief at the State Department, suggested the still tentative and exploratory nature of Mr. Baker's views in remarks Wednesday. "It is important to think about how one begins to try to get a handle on the overmilitarization that's there," Mr. Ross told the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Another administration official said Mr. Baker would be talking with him "ideas" about arms limitations and other subjects, but that these would not be presented as fixed administration positions.

A potentially important shift in the Middle East arms situation, according to officials, is Israel's heightened interest in regional arms limitations. The Israelis, who are facing billions of dollars in expenses for resettling Soviet Jews, are concerned about the possibility of a

costly new arms race they could ill afford to wage.

Moreover, the government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel has expressed interest in arms control discussions with Arab states as a way of opening the face-to-face contacts and de facto recognition they long have sought.

The position of the Soviet Union, which has been a major supplier of arms to Iraq, Syria and other radical states in the region, is unknown. Prior to his resignation in December, Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze expressed great interest in diminishing the flow of arms to the Middle East, officials said. But Mr. Shevardnadze's resignation reflected the strengthened position of the Soviet military, which is believed to be less interested in arms cutbacks.

A factor in the Pentagon's willingness to contemplate additional arms sales to the region is the belief that past arms transfers to friendly states there made the U.S. and allied victory over Iraq possible.

"America's foreign military sales program has turned out to be everything we said it would," Undersecretary of Defense Paul D. Wolfowitz said in a speech to the American-Arab Affairs Council Friday. "We haven't just been leading the Saudis and other Gulf states down, as some have said, with toys they could never use. Those sales made a big difference."

Iran Seeks Role in Pact For Security

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

DAMASCUS — Iran, unhappy about a Gulf security pact forged by Arab states in the U.S.-led alliance that defeated Iraq, sent top officials to Syria on Thursday to seek assurances that it would not be excluded from the arrangement.

The Iranian officials, Vice President Hassan Habibi and Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati, held long talks with President Hafez Assad and Vice President Abdel Halim Khaddam.

"Syria and Iran are neighbors of Iraq," Mr. Habibi said. "From that basis we are concerned with regional matters."

He added, "We are working to coordinate the stands of the two countries on all issues."

Eight Arab states agreed in Damascus on Wednesday to form a peacekeeping force to maintain postwar security in the Gulf.

Egyptian military sources told The Associated Press on Thursday that Egypt and Syria might field as many as 100,000 soldiers in the joint force.

The sources were reported as saying that allied planners considered Iran as much of a potential danger as Iraq.

Iran swiftly denounced the Damascus agreement.

"Drawing up plans that are not comprehensive," Tehran radio said Wednesday, "will in the final analysis hurt the interests of all countries in the region."

Political sources said a factor in the dispute was Iran's past relations with seven of the eight countries in the pact: Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, all of which backed Baghdad in the eight-year Iran-Iraq war.

Syria, the eighth country in the pact, is Iran's main ally in the region, and analysts expected Mr. Assad to defuse Tehran's concern.

The analysts said the "Damascus Declaration" would indirectly bring benefits to Tehran. They said that Syria's "firm and solid" relations with Iran, on one hand, and its main role in the Arab world, on the other, would help achieve a breakthrough in relations between Tehran and the Gulf states.

Diplomats said Syria would assure Iran that it has a role in the postwar order.

They said the eight Arab foreign ministers had agreed to enter into "coordination" talks with Turkey and Iran after the new security plan goes into effect.

In a related development, Saudi Arabia's foreign minister conferred in Damascus with radical Palestinians opposed to Yasser Arafat, the Palestine Liberation Organization leader, who earned the ill will of Gulf leaders by supporting President Saddam Hussein of Iraq in the war.

The minister, Prince Saud al-Faisal, was told pointedly by the delegation that Mr. Arafat did not represent all Palestinians, officials said.



General Colin L. Powell, right, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, applauding Mr. Bush as he entered the House.

The Highlights of Bush's Address to Congress

International Herald Tribune

President George Bush addressed Congress Wednesday night at the invitation of the lawmakers. He made the following points:

- Saddam Hussein will be held accountable for hardships suffered by Iraqis and Kuwaitis.
- The United States will help create regional security, but without stationing ground forces permanently, and will help foster economic development.
- Regional controls must be placed on weapons of mass destruction and missiles.
- New opportunities for Arab-Israeli détente must be created, based on territory for peace as outlined in UN Resolutions 242 and 338.

- They call for Israel to give up occupied territory in return for recognition of its borders through negotiation with Arabs.
- Israel's security and recognition must be provided for, as must "legitimate Palestinian political rights."
- Lebanon's problems must be solved, and Western hostages there will not be forgotten.
- The United Nations is "poised to fulfill the historic vision of its founders."
- Needs at home must be met with the same self-discipline that U.S. troops used. Americans should "lend, spend and invest in this, the strongest economy on Earth."
- The White House domestic agenda should be enacted quickly by Congress, including proposals on clean air, energy strategy, civil rights, child care, choice in education, highway construction and fighting crime.

- The temptation to protect unneeded weapons and obsolete military bases in the budget must be resisted.
- U.S. FORCES
- The conduct of U.S. troops shows that Americans are a good and generous people with much to be confident about.
- Some units will begin returning to the United States or their respective bases on Thursday.
- Every U.S. community is asked to make July 4, Independence Day, "a day of special celebration for our returning troops."

Iraqis Concede a Revolt Is Under Way

By Alan Cowell

New York Times Service

AMMAN, Jordan — Iraq now acknowledged for the first time Thursday that it was facing internal revolt but claimed a victory in the Gulf war, saying President George Bush's latest pronouncements on

the Middle East showed Baghdad had forced the United States to focus on the Arab-Israeli dispute.

After several days of Baghdad's worst uprising in a string of southern Iraqi cities, Arab diplomats said loyalist troops appeared to have quelled protests and street fighting in Basra, the country's second-largest city, in the heart of the Shiite Muslim region.

President Saddam Hussein and his governing elite are mostly drawn from Sunni Muslim clans in the Takiit area north of Baghdad. Iraqi dissidents in Damascus said loyalist troops were poised to move against Shiite Muslim insurgents in the holy cities of An Najaf and Karbala, where the insurgency was reported to have taken root as protesters poured onto the streets.

Mr. Hussein, however, signaled Wednesday that he was gearing his forces to put down protest, and appointed a cousin with a reputation for ruthlessness, Ali Hassan Magid, to supervise internal security.

Hussein Has Upper Hand Amid Revolt, Cheney Says

Reuters

WASHINGTON — Defense Secretary Dick Cheney said Thursday that civil violence was spreading northward in Iraq against President Saddam Hussein but that the Iraqi leader still appeared to have the upper hand with support from the military.

"There are a large number of cities now where there have been incidents reported," Mr. Cheney said.

"My impression is that it has spread," he said. "The incidence of unrest, of civil disturbance, is greater now than it was a few days ago." He added that the fighting had begun in southern Iraq and spread to the central part of the country.

Mr. Cheney said that what was left of the Iraqi military, including elite Republican Guard troops, appeared to be on Mr. Hussein's side and that it was "very hard to tell" what the outcome would be.

The appointment held particular significance for the Kurds of northern Iraq, who said earlier in the week that they had joined the revolt, sending thousands of guerrillas into action, but who now face the prospect of repression from the same man who reportedly ordered the use of poison gas against them in 1988.

In marked contrast to earlier days of the protest, Iraq's official press agency carried few new

claims of insurgent successes, reinforcing indications that the tide of revolt had turned and that Tehran saw no further point in trying to foment it.

Impromptu diplomatic efforts, meanwhile, were underway, reflecting the region's turmoil and those who sided with and against Mr. Hussein jostle for position in a postwar era, the outlines of which are still difficult to discern.

The conflict left the rich oil-producing Gulf Arab states, notably Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, profoundly hostile to Mr. Hussein's allies, notably Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In one diplomatic move, the deputy prime minister of Iraq, Saddam Hammadi, arrived in Amman on Thursday. His mission remained unclear, however.

The scramble for position has acquired increased urgency since Mr. Bush's announcement Wednesday to a joint session of Congress that he wants a resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Throughout the Gulf crisis, Iraq sought to establish a linkage between its occupation of Kuwait and Israel's occupation of Arab territories captured in the 1967 Mideast War.

"The rise of the Palestinian issue to the forefront of international issues was a blow to the plans and calculations of the American administration," the Defense Ministry newspaper Al Qadisiyah said in an editorial Tuesday. "This in itself portrays the big victory that the steadfastness of the Iraqi people achieved for the Arab nation."

The newspaper Al Iraq, an official run publication for Iraq's Kurdish minority, seemed to acknowledge the country's insurgency. But it warned against support of what it termed "attempts of hostile forces which seek to annihilate Iraq by disintegrating its national unity in accordance with their inherited colonialist principle — divide and rule."

Since the end of the war, Iraq has quickly reverted to its style as a country largely closed to the scrutiny of Western reporters. The authorities ordered American television correspondents to leave Baghdad and most were expected to leave for Jordan by Friday.

U.S. intelligence also monitored the "infrared signature" of the Iraqi boosters was detected by U.S. early warning satellites. The satellites simultaneously transmitted the launch warning to the Pentagon, which in turn relayed it instantly to Tel Aviv over a new and secure hot line, called "Hammer Rick," officials said.

Administration officials said that this tactic agreement was reaffirmed when Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger visited Iraq in January, five days before the onset of the air war.

But when Iraq launched the first seven modified Scud-B missiles against Tel Aviv and Haifa on Jan. 18, the tactic agreement was replaced by pressure to respond.

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U.S. intelligence also monitored

the evening at the White House, when Mr. Bush, along with Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d and Mr. Bush.

Mr. Arnes described the plan for a full-scale assault in the Iraqi desert to Mr. Cheney and requested U.S. military assistance for a full retaliatory raid. Administration officials said the Israeli plan called for flying air transports filled with Israeli troops through Jordan or Saudi Arabia to the Iraqi desert, where they would systematically attack the fixed Scud sites at Iraq's large H-2 and H-3 air bases.

The Israeli helicopter and ground forces also would conduct search-and-destroy missions for mobile Scud launchers while Israeli warplanes flew strike and reconnaissance missions and held the skies over western Iraq.

The plan called for Israeli aerial tankers to fly through Saudi Arabia or Jordan to support the air operations, including refueling the large attack helicopter fleet that would set up a temporary base in the Iraqi desert to support the ground forces and attack any challenge from the Iraqi Army, which maintained a large garrison in western Iraq.

With the promise of additional Patriot missile batteries, Mr. Bush and his senior aides were able to convince the Israelis not to execute any retaliation plan that night. But the threat of Israeli entry into the war did not immediately subside.

Within two days, Israeli warplanes violated Jordanian air space in what Jordanian officials asserted privately was an aggressive prelude to an Israeli raid into Iraq.

Concerned that Iraq might provoke Jordan, Mr. Bush on Jan. 20 sent a special envoy, Richard L. Armitage, to Amman.

"Armitage went to tell Jordan what Eagleburger was telling Israel: 'Stay out of this,'" an administration official said.

But the success of the Patriots, combined with the dramatic decline in Scud attacks against Israel, severely diminished Israeli pressure to respond.

Mr. Arnes suggested that if the United States could not secure a corridor for Israeli forces through Saudi Arabia, Israel could seize such a corridor through Jordanian air space, destroying the U.S.-supplied Hawk anti-aircraft missile batteries that provide the bulk of Jordan's air defense.

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INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

For a Stiff Energy Tax

The best way for America to reduce fuel use and clean up the atmosphere is for Congress to pass a stiff energy tax. But the administration's national energy strategy virtually ignores tax hikes or any other conservation measure, an omission many in Congress rightly want to reverse.

Yet Congress, too, seems determined to duck taxes. Senator Richard Bryan of Wisconsin has won considerable support for a different approach, a bill that would raise average fuel-efficiency standards for new cars from 27.5 miles per gallon (11.6 kilometers per liter) to 40. Mr. Bryan's regulatory approach is tempting, but it will not work as well as higher taxes. That is because fuel-efficiency standards — known as CAFE standards — lower per-vehicle fuel use only for new cars. But CAFE has not significantly lowered total fuel use. In recent years, per-vehicle fuel use has gone down, and total fuel use has gone up.

Compared with a tax, CAFE standards affect a much smaller segment of the energy market. They apply only to new cars, which account for less than 10 percent of gasoline consumption. Worse yet, they hold down driving costs. And Congress treats CAFE as a substitute for a stiff gasoline tax, keeping gas prices down.

These lower driving costs encourage people to drive more miles, which offsets part of the impact of higher fuel economy. CAFE also works against itself in another way. Manufacturers may be forced to adopt

expensive technologies, making new cars more expensive, encouraging drivers to keep old gas-guzzlers.

Safety is also a serious issue. To meet CAFE, manufacturers sell smaller cars. According to studies by Robert Crandall of the Brookings Institution, 1989 cars were 500 pounds (225 kilograms) lighter than they would have been without CAFE. That will boost nationwide fatalities in these cars by about 2,500 and serious injuries by 25,000. True, higher gas taxes would also make small cars more attractive, but less so. Taxes primarily encourage everyone to drive less.

Overall, the fuel savings generated by CAFE standards are small, according to studies by Professor Robert Leone of Boston University. Energy taxes would be more effective. According to some studies, a gasoline tax as small as 5 cents per gallon would achieve as much conservation as Mr. Bryan's bill, but at a fraction of the cost to the economy. A broad tax applying to all fossil fuels would fight pollution and global warming even better.

Congress, fearful of voter wrath over tax increases, could offset a higher gas tax with lower payroll taxes.

That way the federal deficit would be unaffected, one regressive tax would replace another and the United States' needs for energy, and clean air, would be protected. That is the core of a sensible national energy strategy.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Filling the Gulf Gulf

Every morning for weeks, people on the bus would talk about the war and think nothing of it when strangers eagerly chimed in. War energized daily life. The news was harsh, telling of hostages, Scud horrors and bomb damage. The electrifying reality translated day to day reality. And then, clank! It was over, leaving people exultant at the quick triumph, joyful that there were few allied casualties and also, somehow — well, glad.

As the morality play ended, so did the high. The public had felt a sense of shared participation in vast, fateful, uncontrollable events. The war's sudden end left an uncomfortable void. Uncomfortable, but familiar. Psychiatrists reported that the lowest level of mental illness observed in World War II Britain was during the heaviest bombing. People fighting together for survival had no time for workday neuroses. But once a crisis ends, it leaves today's problem: how to fill the Gulf Gulf.

Some people try, with more heavy doses of TV, to follow the postwar complexities with the same intensity that most people devoted to the war. Those complexities are probably too Byzantine for the people on the bus. What they were talking about Wednesday was the asteroid. The morning news reported that a greenish-red fireball had flashed over the Northeast about 3 A.M. One pilot radioed in to an airport that it looked like "the Mother of All Meteors."

But no one's heart was in the conversation. A war provides an unassailably noble justification for putting off mundane anxieties, public as well as personal. It's vastly more comforting to remark on America's brilliance in launching smart bombs than its diffidence in launching smart kids.

Deep down, the people on the bus know that: know that war is an honorable distraction but still a distraction; and know that a meteor is just something to talk about.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Invest in the Children

Failures of social policy sometimes have astonishingly deep consequences. Business complaints increasingly about the poor preparation of the average young American coming into the labor force. That has led many business people to take a sharp interest in the school systems that are producing their employees. Going further, some of these employers have discovered that the schools often get children too late to have much effect on their development. That is why the heads of five large corporations appeared before the House Budget Committee Wednesday to press for the full funding of WIC — the federal program that pays for supplemental food and nutritional guidance for pregnant women, infants and children up to age 5.

The general condition of America's least fortunate children — the one-fifth whose families have the lowest incomes and the poorest access to medical care — is not only wretched but clearly getting worse. The traditional social welfare lobbies and their friends in Congress have not been able to do much about a deteriorating trend over the past decade.

But it is possible that the rising concern among business leaders can make a difference in social policies. The five who testified before the Budget Committee were all chairmen of their companies — Robert Allen of

AT&T, John Clendenin of BellSouth, James Renier of Honeywell, Robert Winters of Prudential Insurance and William Woodside of Sky Chefs. A week earlier, an influential business organization, the Committee for Economic Development, published its report on child development and education, which made a similar case. Honeywell's Mr. Renier was head of the task force that wrote it.

In their testimony, the five pointed out that WIC money reaches slightly more than half of the impoverished women and children eligible for it. Next year more than 3 million will be left out and hungry. Malnutrition among pregnant women means high rates of illness and other handicaps among their babies. One federal study suggested that every dollar spent on WIC saves \$2 to \$3 in Medicaid payments in the first 60 days of an infant's life. The country complains bitterly about the soaring costs of Medicaid, but has trouble finding the money for the simplest kind of prevention.

The five corporation chairmen emphasized the implications for the competitiveness of the American economy. It would cost about \$2 billion a year to extend WIC to all the women and children eligible — "an excellent investment," they agreed, "in our nation's children, its economy and its overall future."

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

Other Comment

The Bundeswehr's Role

Sending minesweepers to the Gulf is the first step in adapting [German] foreign and security policy to new realities. Military engagement outside NATO territory will be part of the future role of a larger Germany in Europe and the world, on condition that the decision to activate the Bundeswehr is made by the UN Security Council.

A rejection of the American request for help would have been malingering — and foreign-policy suicide. Clearing the Gulf of mines after the liberation of Kuwait by the allies is not a war action, but an act of cleaning up after a catastrophe. This opportunity will peacefully and actively disprove that Germany is developing into a "larger Switzerland."

When politicians haggle over the possibilities of action open to the Bundeswehr, no one should insist on linking the issue to other touchy, and totally unrelated, questions. The politicians owe it to the soldiers to create clarity about the mission of the Bundeswehr, so that in case of a conflict, [constitutional court] judges in Karlsruhe will not have to take command.

— Süddeutsche Zeitung (Munich).

New Pressure on OPEC

OPEC is expected to witness huge efforts in the coming period to establish coordination so that oil prices will not collapse on world markets. Several observers expected a price collapse upon reaching a Gulf ceasefire. But prices instead have stabilized and even rose, though marginally.

Some analysts interpreted this as market caution toward OPEC decisions this month to return to reduction of overall production. Meanwhile, current OPEC production, excluding Iraq and Kuwait, is put at nearly 23 million barrels a day, whereas the expected demand on OPEC oil over this year's second quarter does not exceed 21.5 million barrels a day. A move has to be taken to prevent an expected surplus in order to avert a price collapse.

All this makes calculations very difficult. Saudi Arabia, with production of nearly 9 million barrels a day, said it cannot return to its old quota of 5.4 million barrels a day. Indeed, all the countries whose production capacity increased in the recent past will find it difficult to accept a reduction of production levels.

— Al Ahram (Cairo).

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Arms and Man: Behind a Crushing Victory

By Gregory M. Grant

WASHINGTON — Analysts and military experts are beginning to draw lessons from the Gulf war — trying to determine why one military force so decisively defeated another of equal size, with so few losses to the victor. Clearly, the effect of air-delivered precision-guided weapons devastated the Iraqi Army's ability to conduct battlefield operations, and paved the way for the incredible success of the ground battle. But even in an age of advanced weaponry, skillful strategy should not be devalued. Most particularly, we cannot overlook the importance of troop morale. The Iraqis' lack of will to fight

Decisive advantage comes not just from superior technology but the masterful implementation of that technology with creative and resourceful doctrine and strategy.

was perhaps even more important than the high-tech weapons that confronted them.

Few campaigns in history can match the decisiveness of the defeat of an army of a half-million men in four days at the cost of only a handful of casualties. The closest historical parallel would be the crushing defeats suffered by Poland, in 1939, and France, in 1940, at the hands of the doctrinally insurmountable German military. Or the impressive victory of Israel's innovative military system over the combined Arab armies in 1967. But none of these examples were the Battle of Agincourt, in 1415, when the English decimated the closely packed ranks of French knights with, ironically, the "missile" fire of English longbows.

Even these successes proved costly to the victors. Though overall force levels were much larger than in the Gulf war, the German armies suffered more than 10,000 killed and almost 50,000 wounded in the first three weeks of the war against France in 1940. Israel's lightning victory in the 1967 war cost it almost 1,000 killed and more than 4,000 wounded.

Military analysts are pointing to the technological advantages of the coalition forces as the key to their victory. The brevity and astounding success of the ground battle is, in part, due to five weeks of attack by the world's most technologically advanced arsenal against a country unschooled in high-tech warfare. During the eight-year Iran-Iraq war — which, at the tactical level, resembled the battles of World War I — such weapons played almost no role.

There have been a number of defining periods in modern warfare. The introduction of huge "people's armies" of the Napoleonic era is one; as is the strategic mobility of the tank, creating the fluid, highly mobile battlefield. It was the recent advent of precision weaponry and advanced surveillance and targeting that caused some to predict that armies could no longer move about the battlefield with the freedom of past wars. According to the emerging concept, what could be seen could be killed. The slaughter of the Iraqi Army in Kuwait has, in part, validated this concept.

If not for a brilliance of leadership and creative strategy, warfare would have remained a

static process of attrition akin to the appalling display of World War I and, due to a lack of operational sophistication on either side, in the Iran-Iraq war.

The challenge to history's "Great Captains" has often been to surmount the advantages technology provides the enemy while amplifying technology's contribution to one's own success. Historical cases of overwhelming military victory show that decisive advantage is the result not just of superior technology, but of a masterful implementation of technology with creative and resourceful doctrine and strategy.

A healthy dose of military incompetence on the losing side can help. At the operational level of war, that level that lies between grand strategy and the small-unit tactical level, the coalition forces displayed a true mastery of the battlefield.

It was the commander of the Prussian armies in the 1870 Franco-Prussian War, Helmuth von Moltke, who said that the day of the offensive, at least at a tactical level, had ended in the face of concentrated fire from the new, rapid-firing rifles and cannons. He realized that soldiers fighting on the defensive had an inherent edge.

He knew that soldiers on the offensive are forced to provide a larger target to the fire of an often partially hidden defender. To overcome the defenders' tactical advantage, Moltke used the strategic turning movement — a tactic introduced in modern times by Napoleon.

Napoleon realized the inherent advantage of an army in a strong defensive position. He surrounded it by taking the strategic offensive. In the campaign against the Austrian Army at Marengo and Ulm, Napoleon displayed his turning movement. By flanking the enemy force, the turning movement compels the defender to begin a withdrawal as the threat to his supply lines becomes evident. Turning movements can produce decisive strategic results, as the defender struggles to escape encirclement and restore his supply lines. Employing this tactic, Napoleon captured a major portion of the Austrian forces. Moltke repeated it in the decisive Prussian victory over

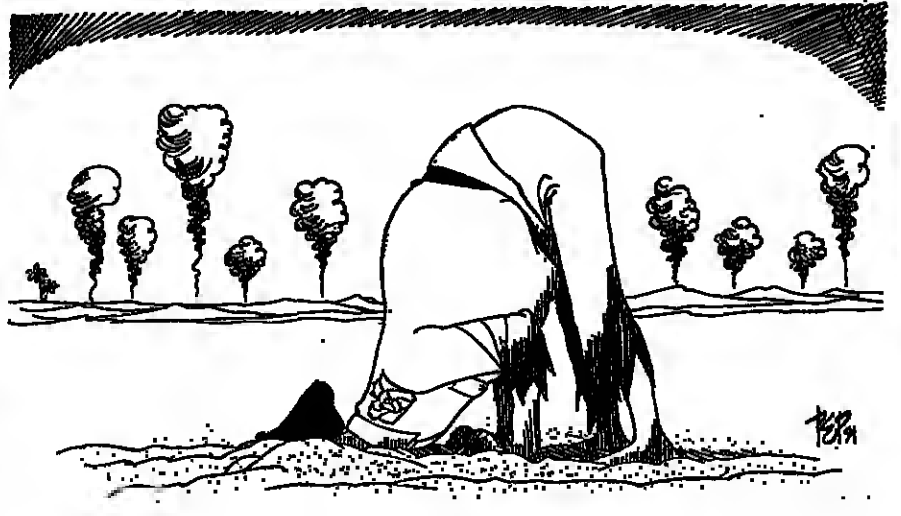
the French at the Battle of Sedan in 1870. The coalition forces of the Gulf war employed the strategic turning movement on a grand scale. In an impressive logistical feat, two full corps moved to the west of Kuwait, in terrain ideal for rapid armored warfare where few Iraqi units were positioned. U.S. commanders applied the offensive principle of distraction and deception to induce Iraq to create a weak point. This is what the Iraqis did, placing their army in a vulnerable position, wide open to a strategic turning movement that unhinged the defense.

This move closely parallels the actions of the German Army in France, in 1940. Confronted with the heavy fortifications of the Maginot Line along the French border, German planners envisioned a wide flanking sweep to turn the French defenses. A German infantry officer, Erich von Manstein, realized the strategic mobility provided by the tank. He shifted the main armored thrust, through the Ardennes, to come only after the original attack farther north, through the Belgian frontier, had forced the French to commit their reserve to block the German attack.

U.S. forces exploited the strategic mobility of the helicopter to plunge deep into the enemy's rear, severing the line of retreat. Few conditions more devastate an army's will to fight than to be surrounded. The footsore Iraqi forces in the initial defensive lines were unable to react to the strategic mobility of the American armored forces.

From the strategic to the tactical level the Iraqi military prepared to fight the last war — a static war of attrition dominated by the engineers and the artilleryman. The Iraqi Army was destroyed by a U.S. military with a war-fighting doctrine developed over the last 40 years, and only refined in the last few years. The U.S. doctrine stresses rapid movement on a fluid battlefield, seeking out an opponent's weaknesses while maintaining a high operational tempo to dislocate the enemy force physically and shatter its commanders psychologically. And that is what happened.

The writer, a military analyst at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, is co-author of a book on the operational lessons of recent wars. He contributed this view to the Los Angeles Times.



How the UN Can Be More Than the Sum of Its Parts

By Flora Lewis

MIAMI — The role of the United Nations in the Gulf war sparked widespread hope that it could, after all, be used for its original purpose of promoting a more orderly world.

In fact, it served one function and one function only. That was to legitimize the use of force to compel Iraq's retreat from Kuwait.

It did not even really serve as a negotiating forum, only as a backdrop for negotiations carried on by telephone and flying foreign ministers.

Still, that represented two important changes in the conduct of international relations. The first was recognition of the need for legitimacy beyond the sovereign independence of states. The second was the new possibility of achieving it with endorsement of all the major powers and most other countries.

These are the limits and opportunities to remember in efforts to build UN capabilities following the war.

Some Americans, carried away with the speed and extent of military success, concluded that — as one television commentator said — "It shows the U.S. can be and should be the world's policeman."

Others, but not many, claimed that now the United Nations can take care of the world.

Too much is at stake to allow either cynicism or utopianism to block real chances of strengthening the organization's role in collective security.

Those chances will continue to depend — as they have since the United Nations was founded — on big-power agreement.

But it should be clearer now than before that the others have much more to gain by urging and contributing to that agreement than by playing the powers off one another, as they did through most of the Cold War.

The Third World, which took that name to show distaste for both East and West, needs to reformulate its own sense of responsibility for preventing conflict. That means, at the least, renouncing the use of the United Nations for ego-massaging resolutions that will not solve anything. Enhancing UN authority requires a certain economy of ambition.

There will always be log-rolling — you vote for my special case and I'll vote for yours — as there is in any

democratic assembly. But it must be tempered by judgment of larger common interests and accepted principles.

Iraq was a special case because the violation of principle was so flagrant. Even so, there should be no regrets that the coalition force was organized outside the United Nations.

The economic embargo, under UN auspices, had to rely on outside enforcement, and that was leaky.

It will be far harder to organize resistance to less clear-cut challenges.

The question arises then about how to make the UN more effective.

UN "peacekeeping" operations until now have been almost exclusively used to monitor the maintenance of cease-fires after a war has ended and to help negotiate the end of hostilities when the opposing sides are about ready to quit.

The United Nations Charter provided for a standing military committee to prevent wars or to intervene when they broke out. But it never came to life because East-West conflict was already brewing, and now, after decolonization, it is questionable whether other UN members

would accept a big-power police force they couldn't really control. They would see it as condominium.

And yet the United Nations can be more than a mere sum of its parts.

There is a chicken-and-egg question of whether overcoming bureaucratic paralysis and intrigue would bring more effective responsibility or whether making the organization more responsible would enable it to work better. When there is a will to make it function and the means are provided, it can.

The first essential step is to acquire some independent resources. The United Nations relies on dues and special contributions, which are not always paid.

The Aborted Law of the Sea treaty would have given it a modest additional income of its own out of royalties for mining the seabed. It is a shame that was not tried.

Something similar is still possible in the very few parts of the globe that are not recognized as national property. Idealists have much more grandiose schemes to give the UN a profitable role in the international oil business or even the exploitation of all nonrenewable subsoil resources, to fund its own armed forces. If that were possible in this quarrelsome world it would scarcely be necessary. But the United Nations does need a ready and reliable fund of its own to undertake limited operations when they are deemed necessary by the UN Security Council and a majority of the UN General Assembly, without having to pass the last each time.

That would never finance a Desert Storm, but the aim of the Gulf war was to make blatant aggressors think twice. Lesser conflicts could be deterred with lesser means.

Reinforcing the perception that international legitimacy matters more than the wish. It is time to make it a habit by giving the United Nations what it needs — but not more than it can handle.

© Flora Lewis.

Don't Play Games With the Kurds

By Karl L. Meyer

NEW YORK — As Saddam Hussein's toilers, the Iraqi Kurds are striking boldly against the dictator whose warplanes once gassed their villages. Kurdish guerrillas on Tuesday claimed control of five northern towns. Nervous Turks are dismayed by disorder on their frontier, but Americans who want to cripple Iraq may find it tempting to seek independence for Kurds — 15 percent of Iraq's people.

Although the idea seems appealing and just, it awakens bitter memories of the last time Washington helped the same Iraqi Kurds. That venture ended miserably, without gain for the Kurds and without honor for the United States.

For Kurds it was a sadly familiar experience. A scattered non-Arab people with their own distinctive language, some 15 million Kurds live in remote corners of Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria and the Soviet Union. Their history is summed up in a poignant national saying: Kurds have no friends.

So it proved in 1920, when for a moment it seemed that the Kurds, like the stateless Jews, might hope for a national home. The victorious

allies were carving up the old Ottoman empire, and the Kurds were promised their own state in the Treaty of Sevres.

It didn't happen. Britain was busy creating Iraq, and its colonial officials decided that the new kingdom needed the oil-rich Mosul, Ottoman province and Kurdish heartland. An alien Hashemite named Faisal was proclaimed king in Baghdad, his choice ratified by a rigged plebiscite. Outraged Kurds joined a rebellion. British soldiers fired back with gas shells, and the Royal Air Force began a 10-year campaign against Kurdish insurgents in the mountainous northeast.

The struggle continued after Iraq achieved nominal independence in 1932. A new Iraqi air force, trained by the RAF, carried on with bombing raids. Soon a new Kurdish leader emerged, the able and charismatic Mustafa Barzani. With Soviet encouragement, he created a de facto Kurdish state that straddled Iraq's frontiers with Iran and Turkey.

In desperation, Baghdad promised the Kurds autonomy, but the agreement collapsed and fighting resumed. An interested onlooker was the Shah of Iran, then quarreling with Tehran. In 1972, the Shah asked him to "help the Kurds make life difficult for our Iraqi neighbor."

Americans hesitated, having no wish to become involved in operations that might encourage separatism and provide Moscow an excuse to make trouble. The Shah persisted. The Americans relented, and a \$16 million covert aid program began.

But neither Iran nor Washington had any interest in seeing Kurds prevail; for Henry Kissinger, the aid program was "an instrument to dissuade Iraq from international adventurism." All this was recounted in the 1976 Pike Report on clandestine activities, which unearthed a CIA memo calling the Kurdish aid program a "card to be played."

In 1975, the Shah played the card. At Algiers he signed an accord with Iraq in which Baghdad dropped long-standing territorial claims against Iran, which in turn agreed to cut off cross-border arms supplies to the Kurds. The stunned Kurds were merely notified of their betrayal. General Barzani vainly tried to reach Secretary of State Kissinger, who sharply told go-between that "secret service operations are not missionary work." But neither the Shah nor Washington benefited from this cold-blooded pact. The true winner was Iraq's new strongman, Saddam Hussein, then striving to consolidate his rule.

Far better then — and now — to leave the Kurds alone than falsely to raise hopes for change.

The New York Times.

— David Korn, a former Foreign Service officer, in The Washington Post.

OPINION

The Patriot: Less Than Advertised

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — The Patriot missile batteries — hailed as the technological star of the Gulf victory — may or may not have stopped incoming Scud warheads.

Hold on, now — how can that be? We saw with our own eyes, time and again on our television screens, the fearsome duel in the skies. The Scud appeared, the Patriot streaked up — zap! the explosion lit up the sky, and the world breathed relief at this marvel of missile defense.

Forty-two Scuds engaged, 41 intercepted. President George Bush told proud workers at the plant producing the Patriots. His televised visit, at the war's halfway point, delivered a clear message: The terror weapon Saddam Hussein aimed at civilians, which was designed to panic Saudis and to draw Israel into the war, was being countered by space-age U.S. technology.

Mr. Bush's statistics were accurate, but his message is subject to challenge. The interceptions — those great midair explosions — did not, in many and perhaps most cases, stop the Scuds from delivering their payload of high explosives.

General Colin Powell was careful to back away from the impression the president had left. The Patriot "doesn't always get a catastrophic kill," he said the next day, explaining that sometimes a Scud breaks up, "and so you have had cases where the warhead has landed and gone off."

Sometimes? The Scud warheads may have landed most of the time. The Patriot interceptions made a lot of noise but may not have hit their targets on the destructive nose.

If so, what did the Patriots hit? Fuel tanks. Most Scuds began to break up on re-entry into the atmosphere, about 9 to 7 miles (15 to 12 kilometers) in the air. This has been degraded as a sign of poor Iraqi adaptation of the Soviet-built missile, but at that dropping stage the warhead no longer needs the fuel tank; the explosive payload is well on its way to the general target area.

Consequently, that height is where the Patriot approaches the Scud at a combined speed of 6,000 miles per hour and explodes, supposedly blowing up the warhead in a "catastrophic kill," or "warhead kill."

But too many Patriots attacked the larger target — the detached fuel tank — making a satisfying bang, while the untouched warhead continued down and slammed home.

The U.S. military misleadingly called such useless contact "mission kills" on the theory that the explosion might have deflected the warhead from its intended target.

But that does not add up. If a warhead is targeted at a wide area of 9 square kilometers, as the inaccurate Scuds are, what does it matter if the warhead is knocked off course a kilometer or two? It does the same terror damage it was intended to do, but on a different neighborhood.

By war's end, the Iraqis had launched about 85 Scuds. Estimates vary, but 10 hit Israel before the Patriots arrived; about 25 veered off into the Israeli or Saudi desert or into the drink. According to executives at Raytheon, the Patriot's builder, 50 Scuds were engaged and 48 intercepted. (The Scud that hit a U.S. barracks in Riyadh was someone's botched shot.)

I would say 160 Patriots were fired, most of which self-destructed.

How many of the claimed intercepts were real kills of warheads, not just fuel-tank hits or sideswipes? Walter Trainor, Patriot program manager for Raytheon, says that only "a small number of Scud warheads came through — nowhere near the majority." That rosy assessment may reflect self-interest, just as an opposite assessment may reflect Israeli commercial interest in producing the Arrow anti-missile missile, a coming competitor to the Patriot.

The payload is the payoff: Did the Patriots hit the Scuds early enough to prevent a rain of destruction? No. Did that rain often contain Scud warheads? Yes.

"There has been a dispute about what part of the missile was hit," says a high Bush administration official. "The Saudis have not been all that forthcoming publicly. But clearly the Patriot was an asset, and absolutely vital in keeping Israel out of the war."

Why did the Scud, a terror weapon that delivered many of its warheads, fail to terrorize?

Psychology triumphed over technology. The Patriot, even if investigators find it failed in its military mission to kill warheads, averted Saudi panic and Israel need for reprisal by providing a false sense of security.

The New York Times.

100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1891: A Pride of Lions

PARIS — Many a time has General Nazare-Aga, the Persian Minister to Paris, wondered how it happens that he was so frequently called upon to sign papers authorizing the wearing of decorations of the Lion and the Sun. At length the General grew suspicious and communicated with the police. The result of this step was the arrest yesterday [March 7] of an ex-Consul of France at Yokohama, by name Dussart, who is accused of having fabricated several hundred Persian decorations and disposed of them — naturally for a consideration.

1916: Enver Pasha Hurt

LONDON — Delayed despatches from Athens state that Enver Pasha, the leader of the Young Turks and the Ottoman Minister of War, has been seriously wounded in an attempt upon his life, organized by the friends of the late Prince Yusuf Izzeddin. The news of the attempted

assassination flew through Pera and Constantinople like lightning and a panic was caused. The situation became so grave that the Duke of

OPINION

Of Principles and Power:
Say No to Demagoguery

By Edwin M. Yoder Jr.

WASHINGTON—Academic quarrels are notoriously nasty, so it is no surprise that two renegades from the professoriat, Newt Gingrich and Phil Gramm, think the Republicans should exploit Gulf-war demagoguery to win big in 1992.

After George Bush's success in the ground war against Iraq, which a majority of Democrats in both houses opposed, Mr. Gingrich, the House minority whip, and Mr. Gramm, a senator from Texas, are plotting what the British call a "coupon election." In the most famous such election in the 20th century, Lloyd George's political machine purged all the Liberal members of Parliament who had doubts about World War I and produced a vengeful Parliament boiling to "squeeze Germany till the pips squeak."

Similarly, the great American coupon election of 1992 would be aimed to decimate the Democrats, the coalition being that they should be punished for voting their doubts and fears about the Gulf war. They were wrong; they deserve to lose. The argument, one gathers, would be no more complicated than that; and Roger Ailes and his ilk should be able to mop up with it.

No good, beyond superficial partisan advantage, ever comes of such electioneering. George Bush could stop the jingoistic crowing of the chicken-hawks like Mr. Gingrich. The president could reiterate his statesmanlike view of January that no one's patriotism was in question when Congress debated the war resolution. But in election seasons, Mr. Bush's better instincts usually desert him.

So far, then, that's where my own immediate political reactions take me when I contemplate the plans of Mr. Gingrich and Mr. Gramm.

But colder calculations bring second thoughts. Almost as distasteful as gutter politics of the Gingrich-Grumm variety is the knee-jerk pacifism that has carried the Democrats, in a single generation, from a creed of international responsibility to an isolationism fitfully tempered only by militant concern for the security of Israel.

A representative figure in that transition is the bright young senator from Minnesota, Paul Wellstone, a walking index to the predictable attitudes that define the new Democratic isolationism. In the great debate on the war resolution in January, Mr. Wellstone proposed a single sovereign test for the validity of American use of armed force: Would you send your son to fight the war you vote for? He could not, he said, to no one's surprise. An older and better question is whether a senator would himself fight the war he votes for. But all such tests are essentially sentimental.

They implicitly reject a community standard of action for the atomistic society in which everyone follows his own



subjective interests and instincts. They would reduce foreign policy to a mere extension of private emotion. If that ever becomes the guiding star of U.S. military policy, America would be better off as an enlarged Switzerland—frankly neutral without the expense and hypocrisy of pretending otherwise.

So on second thought, maybe there would be some rough justice in a showdown between Mr. Gingrich and Mr. Gramm and Democrats like Mr. Wellstone who opposed the Gulf war and, in opposing it, gave no evidence that they would favor the use of American arms anywhere, any time, in any cause.

Maybe it would be useful after all if the 1992 election boiled down to a clash between two equally mindless propositions: "My president, right or wrong (so long as he wins)" and "No wars except the wars I would send my son to fight."

Peace Shock: Washington
Gets Back to Politicking

By E. J. Dionne

WASHINGTON—This is the week that Washington fell to earth. Television sets that had been blaring war news round the clock began falling silent in the White House and the Capitol alike. National unity talk started getting more and more partisan around the edges. Declarations about "new world orders" and great victories gave way to the stuff of normalcy.

Consider the House Republican leader, Robert Michel of Illinois, a thor-

"Every time you got into something," said Representative Paul Henry, a Michigan Republican, "you were drawn away from it." Representative David Skaggs, Democrat of Colorado, commented that members of Congress—and most other Americans—would have to get treated for "CNN withdrawal."

Mr. Skaggs, for one, felt the press of business-as-usual intensely. He is a member of the Appropriations Committee and spent a recent afternoon closeted with his colleagues marking up the supplemental appropriations bill, including the tab for Operation Desert Storm.

For the time being, he said, the war's main effect is on how people talk. "The vocabulary here is peppered with allusions to the war," he said. "It's the Mother of All Whatevers and, 'if only we could apply the same grit we did in Kuwait to fill-in-the-blank.'"

It was easy for everyone to be on the same side when Saddam Hussein was on the other. Now, life is muddled again.

Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell told the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations that "the president deserves the credit he is now receiving"—and then got down to business. "For 10 long years the Reagan and Bush administrations pursued a policy of favoring Israel. . . . That policy continued up until the day that Iraq invaded Kuwait," he said, setting down a marker for what is likely to be an important new Democratic theme.

Mr. Mitchell won applause from his audience—and grumbles from most Republicans. Republicans were at it too. Senator Phil Gramm of Texas continued to bash and needle Democrats who had opposed the president before the war, correcting a reporter outside the White House who asked if Mr. Bush would continue to enjoy "bipartisan support."

"I think it depends on when you measured the bipartisan support as to when it existed," Mr. Gramm retorted. "When it was clear the president was winning, he had bipartisan support. Before it was clear, he didn't."

In the meantime, word leaked out that Senator Albert Gore, Democrat of Tennessee, planned to assail the Republicans for assailing Democrats who voted against the war. This would be a double hit for Mr. Gore, since it underlines the fact that he—unlike most Democrats—supported the war resolution, but wins him appreciation from the war's foes, present and former.

Democrats stomped and cheered for Mr. Bush when he addressed a joint session of Congress on Wednesday. They even claim to be hoping for great things. "He's got a lot to build on," said Senator Carl Levin, Democrat of Michigan. "He can call on the country to do for the economy what it did militarily."

The Washington Post

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Why the Berlin Wall Fell

Regarding the report "Quietly, Politicians Maneuver to Make the Most of the War" (Feb. 21) by Robin Toner:

Phil Gramm of Texas, chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, is quoted as saying that "had Jimmy Carter, Walter Mondale and Michael Dukakis been elected president, the Berlin Wall would still be standing." What utter, self-serving nonsense.

The wall came down because after 40 years of manipulation and intimidation by the state police, of nearly total travel prohibition to the West, of drab lives and endless shortages including living space, and a killing pollution of the environment—all this while on the other side of the wall West Germans were living *la dolce vita*—East Germans finally had had enough. They took to the streets and started a revolution.

The change was brought from within by the courage, first of only a few, then of all, American hard-liners deserve no credit for the fall of the Berlin Wall.

LEONORE SUHL,
Portimão, Portugal.

Do-It-Yourself Journalism

Regarding the debate over wartime censorship: All politicians and all military officers will always manipulate information. Debate should focus on how to educate citizens to understand the nature of information processes and to apply their own, compensators to what they are told. Above all, the individual should learn to ask his own questions and to be on guard against journalists who do not pose them on his behalf.

ROLAND CHALLIS,
Tours, France.

The Invaders Were Iraqis

A letter in your Feb. 26 issue from John S. Small in Athens says that President Bush "has launched two invasions (Panama and the Gulf)." True, the United States invaded Panama, but the only "invasion" in the Gulf since Mr. Bush became president was launched by Saddam Hussein on Aug. 2. Why do some people still need to be reminded that the United States did not start the war?

KIMBERLEY KEYES,
Madrid.

Gulf Kudos to All

Congratulations, America! Let us salute brilliant leadership, superb and skillful handling on the diplomatic, political and military fronts, and a truly remarkable performance by all coalition members.

E. LEIGH SMITH,
Kapellen, Belgium.

The Price of Victory

It cost the West \$60 billion to set up Saddam Hussein and perhaps another \$60 billion to knock him down. The result: tens of thousands dead, hundreds of thousands of lives ruined, and environmental damage to scourge future generations. We call that "victory." What do we do when words lose their meaning? There is no end to Western self-righteousness.

PAUL LAVERTY,
Glasgow.

The Bush Persona

George Bush, having sent the assembled might of the U.S. Army—a force designed to repel a Soviet attack—

against a Third World country, believes he has definitely shed his wimp image. Mr. Bush has used his country's armed forces and the lives of its citizens to work out his personality problems.

If he really hates Saddam Hussein so much, Mr. Bush should have challenged him to a duel and spared the Iraqi and American peoples the horror and expense of war. That is the only way the president could effectively have detached himself from his handbag.

GERARD MENDHIN,
Gstaad, Switzerland.

Quailing Over Quayle

The allies' stunning victory in the Gulf, and the president's deft handling of the crisis, make a second George Bush presidency seem, alas, inevitable. I only hope he can use his surge in popularity to own up to his biggest mistake and leave Dan Quayle off the 1992 ticket.

STEVEN DICKMAN,
Munich.

The Meaning of Peace

True peace will come to the Middle East when all Arab countries realize that

Israel is there to stay, when they accept Israel and negotiate with it on equal terms and when they are prepared to compromise for the sake of mutually beneficial results, for peace and stability for all countries and peoples.

DAVID FROELICH,
Rohovot, Israel.

Israel and the PLO

Regarding "The World Will Need a New PLO" (Opinion, Feb. 14) by Rita E. Hauser:

I can't figure out what makes people like Mrs. Hauser meddle so actively in affairs of no apparent concern of theirs, and of which they seem to have little comprehension. The Palestine Liberation Organization she so actively advocates has finally been recognized for what it is, a terrorist group striving to annihilate Israel. My view, and I believe it is held by most of my compatriots, Jewish and Arab, is that an understanding could have been reached long ago if there were no bothersome meddling from outside our region.

S. RAMON,
Ramat Gan, Israel.

Too Many People?

Regarding "Help to Plan Family Size, Not Control the Women" (Meanwhile, Feb. 20) by Ellen Goodman:

The writer complains that the new Norplant birth control device has been most ardently taken up by policymakers who distrust the ability of poor mothers to control their own reproduction. A New York Times editorial in the same issue observes that in 1988 one-fourth of U.S. births were illegitimate—most of them to poor mothers.

Uncontrolled population growth is strangling U.S. inner cities, ruining Third World countries and threatening the planet itself. Ms. Goodman's well-meaning abstractions do nothing to solve what many people believe is the world's most serious problem.

We are not granted automatic unlicensed rights to drive automobiles, build houses, open bars, own dogs or practice law. Before the planet has been destroyed will we recognize our responsibility to control our own reproduction?

WARREN R. DIX,
Athens.

Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

1991 CONFERENCES

THE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN SECURITY:
POLITICAL, STRATEGIC & INDUSTRIAL ASPECTS
Rome, Le Grand Hotel
April 23

OIL & MONEY: ASIA & THE PACIFIC
Singapore, Sheraton Towers Hotel
May 13 - 14

LIVING IN EUROPE 2000: SCENARIOS FOR CHANGE
Prague, Forum Hotel
June 6 - 7

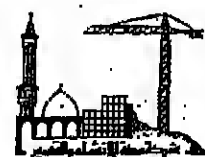
MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT: IMPLICATIONS FOR CONSULTANTS,
BUSINESS & TRAINING
Paris, Hotel Inter-Continental
July 4

TRADE & INVESTMENT IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES
Stockholm, Grand Hotel
September 24 - 25

INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS OUTLOOK
Oxford, Keble College
October 2 - 3

OIL & MONEY
London, Inter-Continental Hotel
November 11 - 12

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Makkah Construction & Development
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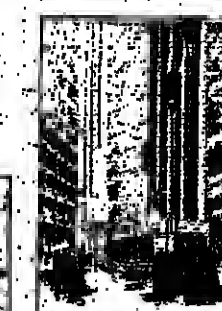
Announces its desire to assign the Management and Operation of its 5-Star Hotel located within its First Residential and Commercial Project, directly overlooking the Holy Mosque, to an internationally specialized company in this field.

• The Hotel designed to meet "International 5-Star Luxury Hotel" specifications, comprises 30 floors with an area of 50,981 m², containing an underground, top roof for machinery and a helipad.

• The hotel consists of 600 single rooms, 14 suites each with two rooms and amenities, and 6 suites each with 4 rooms and amenities.
• Ground and first floor: contain main lobby, entrance, service rooms, shops, stores and administration offices with a total area of 5743 m².



• Mezzanine: contains administration offices, entries, waiting lounge with a total area 1332 m².
• 2nd to 5th floors: Contain a shopping arcade, prayer hall and offices totally independent from the hotel.
• 6th and 7th floors: Contain multi-purpose



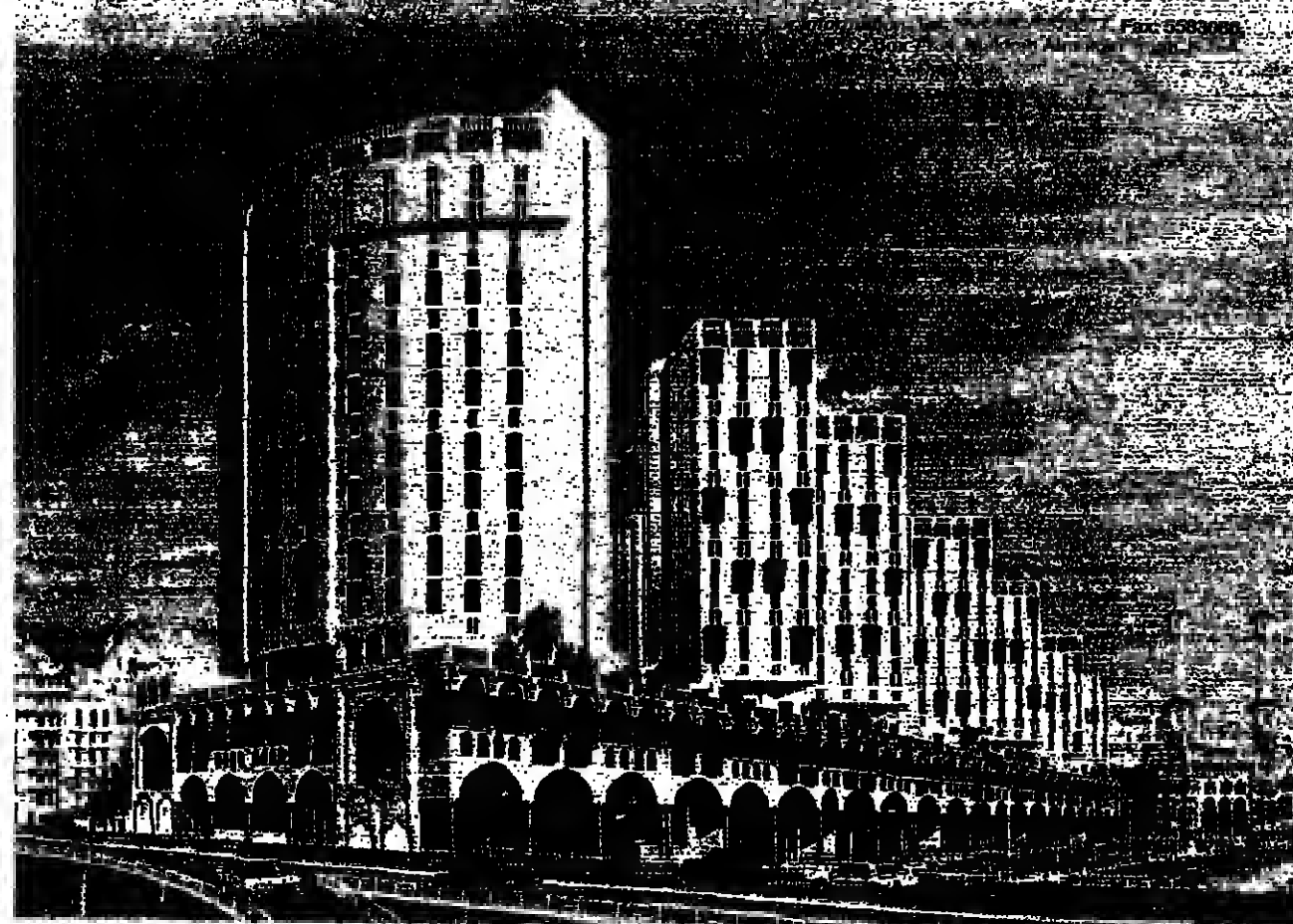
halls, in addition to kitchens, restaurants and saloons with total area of 5493 m².

• 8th floor: Contains lecture room, reception hall, staff accommodation and security offices with total area of 1898 m².
• 9th - 28th floors, each floor is of an area of 1500 m², and consists of 23 single rooms with amenities.
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Other Services:
• Car park
• 14 panoramic elevators, escalators and walkways and stairs for emergency exits.
• Central air conditioning system.
• TV, video, radio and paging systems.
• Public calls and warnings.



• Telephone system and wake-up call service.
• Fire fighting & alarm system etc.



Gulf Role Did Little For Quayle

By Ann Devroy and David A. Broder

WASHINGTON — Americans continue to have doubts about Vice President Dan Quayle's qualifications to take over the presidency, according to a Washington Post poll.

The survey found that 49 percent of those questioned thought Mr. Quayle would not be competent to take over the Oval Office and that 43 percent said he would.

In 1989, when the same questions were asked, 52 percent said he would be unqualified to be president; 38 percent said he would.

The new survey was conducted after a period when Mr. Quayle was given unusually high exposure in connection with the Gulf crisis. Mr. Quayle attended dozens of meetings at the White House and at Camp David, he was frequently seen on television giving speeches and he paid more than a dozen visits to military bases.

Nevertheless, many voters who were not concerned about Mr. Quayle as vice president expressed misgivings about him as a successor to the presidency.

A separate Washington Post survey over the weekend showed that for the 1992 election campaign many Americans would prefer that President George Bush replace Mr. Quayle with Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d, General Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, or General H. Norman Schwarzkopf.

As for Mr. Bush, his overall job-approval rating in the latest Washington Post-ABC News poll, completed Monday, surged to 90 percent with the end of the war, more than a 10-percentage-point increase since late January.

TRABI: Small, Smelly and Noisy Auto as Epitaph for East Germany

(Continued from page 1)

of his impeccable suburban home, he gasps. "The Saxons are at the door!" and hides his half-eaten chocolate cake.

From Bavaria, the family makes its way south, through nations of people who seem to love laughing at Trabis. At one point, when the car breaks down at a highway exit, the father phones for road service. "What kind of a car do you have?" the service agent asks. "It's a 601," the father replies. "What, a Porsche?"

"No, a Trabant!"

The agent bursts out laughing, hugely amused at the very idea of a Trabant on a highway.

"Why don't you just leave that plastic can by the side of the road?" he suggests.

As the film progresses, the Trabi survives a host of outrages, including being mistaken for scrap at an auto junkyard. Insensitive Westerners subject it to ridicule at every

stop, but it serves its owners well and no amount of abuse can destroy it.

Like East Germans themselves, it survives through difficult times and ultimately triumphs.

Thanks to the Trabi, the intrepid pilgrims from Bitterfeld finally reach Naples and are able to walk where Goethe walked.

Public premieres of "Go Trabi Go" have been held in several cities in eastern Germany. The three lead actors recently attended a premiere in Chemnitz, near the Czechoslovak border.

The theater was packed, and outbreaks of delighted applause suggested that viewers recognized themselves on the screen.

"There's nothing in that film that isn't true," a young man said after the lights went back on. "You have to love your Trabi, just like you have to love your wife. It's part of what we are."

Mr. Stumpf and the actress who

plays his wife, Marie Gruber, were surrounded by autograph seekers after the show.

The real commotion, though, was around the 25-year-old Claudia Schmitz, who plays the cheeky teenage daughter. "Go Trabi Go" is her first film, and critics have suggested she has star appeal.

As a girl growing up in East Germany, Miss Schmitz took several real-life vacations in her family's Trabant.

"Of course it's not so comfortable in the backseat," she said, "but it was a chance for the family to have an adventure together. In the West, people just fly from place to place. It's a very different feeling."

"Go Trabi Go" was made by Bavaria Films, the largest studio in Germany, for about \$3 million. It is a trifling sum by Hollywood standards but fairly expensive for a German film.

No figures are yet available, but

the film has already grossed much more than it cost to make.

Bavaria Films is a well-established Western studio, and Peter Timm, the film's director and screenwriter, is a native of the former West Germany. The producer, Reinhard Klooss, has lived in Munich for years but was born in the East.

"I was watching TV the night the wall fell," Mr. Klooss said, "and I was fascinated by the thousands of Trabants pouring across. I was instantly curious about who those people inside the Trabi were. What had they gone through? What were they really like?"

"Audiences have a very warm reaction to this film. It shows people from the East as good-humored, optimistic and happy with themselves. For a lot of people in the West, it's the first time they've had any glimpse into the way East Germans really are."

BUSH: President Shows How He Will Use Strength

(Continued from page 1)

Arab-Israeli conflict," the president said. "I guarantee you: No one will work harder for a stable peace in the region than we will."

The president reiterated what has been basic U.S. policy in the Arab-Israeli peace process, the requirement that a comprehensive settlement must be grounded in the two key United Nations Security Council resolutions, 242 and 338, and in the principle of Israel giving up occupied territory for peace.

Mr. Bush also referred to the administration's new two-track approach in the region, an effort to get not only an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue started, but also dialogues between Israel and individual Arab states.

What appeared to be a veiled threat to Israel, Mr. Bush also renewed complaints about Congress "micromanaging" foreign aid programs when he said a new world cannot be built abroad if at home "it's politics as usual" on aid.

The issue first surfaced more than a year ago when the Senate minority leader, Bob Dole, Republican of Kansas, suggested that Congress slash 5 percent of the foreign aid of the top five recipients, Israel and four other nations, to give the administration some leeway in awarding foreign aid.

The suggestion, which the administration privately applauded, was widely seen as an effort to break the grip that Israel has on U.S. aid.

The administration just emerged this week from a bruising, behind-the-scenes battle over more aid to

Israel. Mr. Bush agreed to the assistance but not without complaining privately about the lobbying done by Israel's friends for what White House officials called "grossly exaggerated" levels of new aid.

Beyond the Arab-Israeli conflict, Mr. Bush sketched a more active U.S. military presence in the Gulf than the naval forces there before the war. While he said U.S. ground forces would not be stationed on the Arabian Peninsula, American air and ground forces would take part in joint exercises in the region and a "capable" naval presence would be maintained.

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney said last week that the naval presence will be "at a higher level for the time being" and that friendly Arab nations had asked the United States to take part in joint exercises "so that we may be able to rotate units through the area, maybe preposition some equipment" in the region.

On the domestic front, Mr. Bush employed what one official called the "good offense" is the best defense tactic. He ignored Democratic complaints that he has no domestic policy. He instead challenged Congress to pass in 100 days the programs he has requested on crime, civil rights, transportation, energy and education.

Those packages are left over from last year, and they all face the same problem: The Democrats have alternative approaches, and have made a theme of accusing Mr. Bush of dabbling at the edges of domestic policy while his heart and most of his attention were overseas.

Rather than debate the merits of the various approaches, Mr. Bush and his allies laid out a strategy this week for portraying the Democrats as nay-saying dilettantes who withhold their support from the president in war and now are withholding it in peace.

Noting the speed with which the United States confronted and overcame the Iraqi challenge in the Gulf region, Mr. Bush told the Congress, "If our forces could win the ground war in 100 hours, then surely the Congress can pass this legislation in 100 days."

Hussein's Son Resurfaces

Reuters

BAGHDAD — President Saddam Hussein's son, Uday, has dismissed as "dog bark" reports that he had been killed in Basra by rebels fighting to remove his father.

He replied to the reports with a signed editorial in the first issue of new Al Ba'ath newspaper, of which he is chairman. He made no specific mention of unrest in southern Iraq.

A refugee had told journalists at the Iraqi-Kuwaiti border that Uday Hussein had been killed in Basra, which rebels said they had captured following Iraq's defeat in the Gulf war.

Living room and was still having trouble walking.

Like the state radio, the newspapers of Baghdad are full of paeans to the army's heroism, but there is no masking the real story of humiliation: Almost everyone has seen the defeated troops and the armored vehicles arriving in Baghdad, stripped of their weapons.

Coming just two years after this country's eight-year war with Iran, it is difficult to overstate the effect of the defeat on Iraqi society. Few countries in the last decade have lost so great a portion of their young men in battle.

Despite reports of turmoil in the capital, there has been no hard evidence of unrest in the capital.

JAPAN: Asian Nations Urge Tokyo to Take a New Role in Peacekeeping

(Continued from page 1)

minished military clout of the Soviet Union in Asia, the weakened position of China and a gradual reduction of U.S. forces in the region.

A number of Asian officials also expect growing tension between the United States and Japan over trade and economic issues. They fear that discord may spill over and weaken Japan's postwar bilateral security treaty with the United States. The treaty, along with the country's new constitution, has confined Japanese forces to defense of the home islands to a distance of no more than 1,000 nautical miles.

"We think it is better to nurture Japan into collective security instead of seeing her go it alone as a military force at a later stage," said Jusuf Wanandi, chairman of the supervisory board of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta.

A senior Indonesian official said that Japan should confine itself to making a large contribution to the cost of UN peacekeeping, rehabilitation and reconstruction in Cambodia.

"Even today in Southeast Asia, the sight of Japanese in military uniform with the Japanese flag flying would send a shudder through some ASEAN capitals," he said.

Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore's senior minister and former prime minister, said recently that a Japanese military role in the region was inevitable.

"It will not be possible in the longer run for Japan to say that other people must send their soldiers, or their airmen and sailors, to enforce the resolutions of the United Nations," he said.

Although he supported the sending of Japanese troops abroad to help in UN peacekeeping operations, initially they should do so in a noncombatant capacity.

"This is a process of desensitization," Mr. Lee said.

Large-scale Japanese aid, trade and investment in Southeast Asia and the apparent strength of pacifist sentiment in Japan have convinced some officials in the region that far from being a latent military threat, Japan needs to be encouraged to play a constructive security role.

Public and political opposition in Japan blocked a government plan last month to send military aircraft and servicemen to the Gulf in a noncombat role.

But the government still hopes to secure approval in the parliament for legal authority for Japanese participation in UN peacekeeping activities.

Jesus Estanislao, the Philippine finance secretary, said Wednesday in Tokyo that he did not oppose Japan sending military personnel on peacekeeping missions, provided they were under UN control.

"The past is past," he said. "Let us look to the future."

Birabongse Kasemsri, Bangkok's ambassador to Tokyo, said last month that Southeast Asia's perception of Japan had changed for the better. Despite memories of World War II, he said, memories in the region "believe the intentions of the Japanese government are peaceful and constructive."

The envoy said it was appropriate for Japan to be involved in UN peacekeeping efforts.

No Halt to Arms Flow

China suggested on Thursday it would continue arming the Khmer Rouge guerrillas until a comprehensive settlement of the Cambodian question was reached, Reuters reported from Beijing.

The halt in assistance is a component of a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian question," said a Foreign Ministry spokesman, Duan Jin, said. This, he added, was clearly defined in a peace proposal adopted by the Security Council.

China said in November that it

BAGHDAD: A Marketplace of Rumors Springs Up in a Defeated City

(Continued from page 1)

sided major military defeats in modern history, Mr. Hussein has been photographed and filmed, but not heard from in person since Feb. 26, when he announced in a radio address that Iraqi troops would withdraw from Kuwait.

"Our president has disappeared," a resident of the capital said. "We don't know what to believe and what not to. The only thing we are sure about is, that the whole world is against us."

Although Baghdad radio has proclaimed a glorious victory, most Iraqis knew the truth of their army's collapse from Arabic language broadcasts of the Voice of

America and the BBC. Still, it took a few days for the first soldiers from the front to drift back into the capital and for their accounts of carnage and capitulation to make their rounds.

Now such stories are in abundant supply.

A painter tells of her neighbor's son, called upon two weeks ago to accompany a convoy of three refrigerated trucks bearing corpses from the front back to Baghdad.

On the way north, the convoy came under attack by allied aircraft and the trucks — each containing 150 bodies — were all hit.

"He managed to jump out, but the sight of the trucks and bodies

was terrible," the painter said. "There were pieces of bodies all over the road. A terrible, terrible sight. He hasn't eaten anything in a week since he saw it. He won't talk to his mother about it. He's become half-crazy."

A doctor tells of a 28-year-old physician, the son of a prominent Baghdad surgeon, who was sent to the front to accompany a unit of 60 men. In the unit's chaotic retreat under fire, all but about 10 were killed or wounded.

The young doctor walked for three days through the desert before finding a road and a ride to the capital. He arrived home one day last week, collapsed in his parents'

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TRAVEL

A Chilean Hacienda Doubles as Farm and Hotel

by Shirley Christian

LOS LINGUES, Chile — On awakening in an antique bed and gazing up at what must be 20-foot-high ceilings in Hacienda Los Lingues, I told myself that the vast adobe house and its surrounding 10,000 acres proved that there had been a time when foreign correspondents were properly appreciated. The hacienda, now a guest house and working farm 75 miles south of Santiago, was the gift of Carlos V of Spain to a man who chronicled the advance of the conquistadors through the southern reaches of the New World in the first half of the 16th century.

German Clara Lira and his wife, Maria Elena Lyon de Clara, who emerged into the garden to greet their arriving guests, are the modern-day lord and lady of the manor, which has been passed down through Clara's family since the land was granted to Juan Jufre y Montero del Aguila in 1545.

This is a family that has never had a lot of money but has always had beautiful homes. Maria Clara told me, giving a clue as to why Los Lingues began inviting paying guests into its well-worn splendor 10 years ago.

Set in a rich agricultural valley a two-hour drive from Santiago along the four-lane Pan American Highway, Los Lingues — named for a Chilean tree — is what she describes as "a place to learn to relax, to read, listen to music, look at the birds, take walks. Most guests tell us the hardest thing to get used to here is the quiet."

This is a place where peacocks roam free in the patio between the long wings of the main house, where you may catch a table set under the trees or in the garden near the wine or in the ornate main dining room with antique French crystal and porcelain.

It is also a working farm, where visitors are free to visit the large fruit and vegetable operation or take in one of the auctions of the Aculeos horses that German Clara breeds. Some families hold reunions or observe anniversaries here, and corporations send their top executives to the hacienda for a few days of deep thought and planning.

The most serious exertion, and worth doing, is a horse ride. On a sunny morning in early summer — summer is December into March in the southern hemisphere — I rode up into the Andes foothills that begin just behind the farm buildings with Juan Alvarez, one of the handlers who work with Clara. Although nearly 3,000 miles long (about

4,800 kilometers), Chile is never more than about 200 miles wide and at this point the land mass covers only about 80 miles between the Pacific Ocean and the Argentine border, defined by the Andes Mountains. Although farther to the north the Andes form towering peaks that reach above 20,000 feet (about 6,000 meters), in the area of Los Lingues and farther south they are wider but not so high.

Juan Alvarez assured me that for those with stamina it was possible to go up and over the hills and mountains all the way to the border, a distance of about 30 miles from the farm. But I was content with the view across the valley filled with fruit trees and grain fields and with a taste of the crisp, dry mountain air.

German Clara claims his Aculeos, which now number about 150, are the best horses in South America and traces their bloodlines back to the Moors, who took the ancestors of the Aculeos to Spain in the eighth century. Used for sporting competitions throughout South America, they bring \$10,000 to \$20,000 at auction.

The slightly stocky Aculeos are described by Clara as first cousins of the Lipizzans of Vienna's Spanish Riding School. The blood link seems obvious in the light gray coloring that is common among the Aculeos. However, Aculeos also come in almost any other color.

On weekends, cowboys — known as *huasos* in Chile — lead the Aculeos through displays of fancy footwork in a corral beside the stables. In addition, on special occasions or for groups that have made reservations, there are shows by Chilean folk dancers and wine tastings. The Claros have drawn up plans for tennis courts and a swimming pool, which they hope to have functioning by the next South American summer.

The senior Claros live at the hacienda year round. Mr. Clara runs the farm with its nearly 300 workers, and Mrs. Clara oversees a staff of 30 at the guesthouse. German, their older son, runs the office in Santiago, often coming to the farm on weekends.

The main house of Los Lingues, with its two-foot-thick adobe walls, is basically as it was remodeled 200 years ago, with later alterations for plumbing and electricity. A small part of the house dates from about 100 years earlier, and the family chapel, available for weddings, was built in 1650 and is the oldest part of the hacienda.

Clara recalled that during his childhood and youth, the family lived primarily in



Horseback riding vies with peaceful patio and veranda at Los Lingues.

Santiago and used the hacienda as a summer and weekend house. But it was falling into disrepair because of its size and the cost of maintenance. When the property passed to his generation, his siblings were not interested in sharing the upkeep, so he took it over. In 1966, he began restoration, and in 1981, after going through a battle over agrarian reform and a national economic depression, opened it to the public.

Each of the 16 rooms and suites — 12 in the main house, 4 in an adjacent house — is an individual experience. Heated by wood-burning stoves during the winter — sweet smelling eucalyptus logs are stacked outside the door — rooms in the main house are

furnished with antiques that have come to rest in Los Lingues over a century or more. There is likely to be Champagne or a bowl of fruit waiting on a wide window ledge or atop an antique dresser. Rooms in the guest house are furnished more rustic but have modern bathrooms.

The silver roosters in the center of the dining table are said to have been stolen by Chileans when they marched on Lima, the capital of neighboring Peru, during the War of the Pacific in 1879.

Lunch at Los Lingues, normally served on wooden tables in the wine cellar, is informal and features typical Chilean rural dishes, like Mrs. Clara's recipe for *pastel de choclo*, a

casserole combining corn, chopped beef and chicken.

At dinner — at 9 o'clock — the Claros join their guests around the formal dining table for a meal that is usually Continental with Chilean touches. The main course the night I stayed there was corvina, a fish common in the South Pacific waters along the Chilean coast, done in a fine herb sauce, accompanied by white and red Chilean wines, which are ranked among the world's finest. Dessert, fruit from the surrounding fields, was served on the remaining plates of a set of French porcelain that was largely destroyed when a cabinet fell in the last earthquake.

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TRAVELER'S CHOICE

Northern Lights Season

■ This will be the finest year in centuries in which to view the celestial pyrotechnics of the aurora borealis, or northern lights, according to scientists at the University of Alaska Geophysical Institute. The aurora appears when solar storms release highly charged particles that collide with the earth's atmosphere, producing the multicolored walls of light. Alaskans say Fairbanks offers the most intense show. An abandoned mining camp converted into a resort 30 miles from Fairbanks, the Old F. E. Gold Camp, arranges packages centered around aurora watching during the lights season ending in late March or early April. A tour, including transportation to and from Fairbanks and viewing until 5 A. M., is \$45. Information: Fairbanks Convention and Visitors Bureau, 550 First Avenue, Fairbanks, Alaska 99701.

A Taste of India's Desert

■ In Rajasthan, where there are many palace hotels, one former maharajah's family decided to offer tourists a taste of life in a desert village. Since 1986, the Mandawa family of Hotel Castle Mandawa, about 150 miles from New Delhi in a peaceful corner of northern Rajasthan, has been building a mud-walled tourist hamlet on a dune overlooking a wild desert landscape traversed by camels and inhabited by peacocks. The village, built by local artisans using brick, mud and slate, is now complete with 21 cottages, each different. The cottages are trimmed with traditional frescoes and have double rooms, small sitting areas and spacious modern bathrooms. A swimming pool overlooks a plain that comes to life in July and August with the monsoon rains. By autumn, it takes on its monochromatic winter look. The village, three miles from Castle Mandawa, is open year round. Rates are the equivalent of about \$28 a night. Information: Hotel Castle Mandawa, District Jhunjhuna, Rajasthan 333704, India; tel: Mandawa 24 (no direct dialing) or Jaipur 75358 (91-141-75358). (Barbara Cussette, NYT)

A Historic Hotel Reopens

■ Hilton International Hotels has reopened the historic Langham Hotel, opposite the BBC's Broadcasting House in Portland Place. The Langham was London's first designed hotel when it was opened in 1865 by the Prince of Wales, later Edward VII. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle mentioned the Langham — a five-minute walk from 221B Baker Street — in several of his Sherlock Holmes novels. The hotel was badly damaged in a 1940 air raid. Later it was used by the BBC. The restored Langham Hilton, the management says, combines Victorian grandeur and standards of service with the latest technology. Reservations: (71) 636 1000.

Canada's New Tax

■ Visitors to Canada will find a new 7 percent federal tax on all merchandise, services and accommodations. The Goods and Services Tax replaces the former 13.5 percent tax on manufactured goods. On leaving the country tourists are eligible for a refund of taxes paid on all goods purchased for export. Reimbursement (in Canadian dollars) is immediate and all duty-free shops in airports and at border crossings, where the necessary forms are available. Food purchased in markets, drugs, medical care, residential rent and educational costs are not taxed under the Goods and Services Tax. Tourists must spend a minimum of \$100 Canadian to receive the rebate, although families may combine expenditures.

Going to a Conference and Other Ways of Being Hard to Reach

by Roger Collis

TRY to phone anybody these days and the chances are you'll get an earful of the xylophone version of "Greensleeves," or a low-fi rendering of "The Four Seasons" by the Muzak Symphony Orchestra. Then the doom-laden words: "He's in a meeting. I can't disturb him." Or the pompous: "He's in a meeting. I can't disturb him." Yes, yes, your check is in the mail.

Of course, it all depends what you mean by "meeting" or "conference." Some executives are perpetually in meetings, it seems, whenever you want to get hold of them. This can mean a whole host of things: either they're nattering with their secretary or someone else's secretary on another line, in with the boss, not back from lunch, left for the day, or truly engaged in motivating the troops at some cost-effective little resort on the Costa Extravaganza. One in five international travelers is on the way to attend some kind of conference.

Meetingmanship requires a strategic and tactical approach depending whether you're talking conferences or meetings. Conferences differ from meetings mainly because they are occasions when you are talked at rather than talking among, if you follow.

They come in several guises — from management development seminars, new product launches and sales meetings to association jamborees. (You even get conferences for conference organizers.) Conferences form an integral part of "Management by Absence." Meetings, on the other hand, are an excellent way of wasting other people's time when in the office. ("Management by Pre-captivity.")

Successful conferences are in and out in themselves, rather than a means to an end. "We are, therefore we meet." Or vice versa.

The conference year for the typical executive might start in London with "Megatrends for Corporate Planners" at the Ritz. Then on to Paris for "Meeting the Japanese Challenge" at the Carlton, and then down to Florence for the "Cash Flow Festival," and moving on to Davos for winter-sports talks in the snow with politicians and other business leaders.

There is a new freedom these days from traditional hierarchical behavior and mores. One is even starting to see — especially at the more idiosyncratic international gatherings — merging of national characteristics into a distinct "conference style."

There are many motives for attending a conference: escapism, selling, buying, looking for a client, keeping an eye on a client,

looking for a job, or plain honest-to-goodness self-aggrandizement.

They are also a good excuse for holding impromptu board meetings in the absence of a fellow director who wasn't able to make it to the conference, poor guy. ("Howard, we're sorry you weren't able to join us in Zagreb.")

This is an egregious example of the "invisible agenda" (similar to the "invisible organization" within the company) whereby executives are able to meet and conspire in those invigorating after-hours sessions, far from daily pressures of the office.

Meanwhile, back in the office, there are many variations to this gambit. You have "shadow meetings" (meetings within meetings) when a caucus, or breakout group, has its own meeting and subverts the official one ("Management by Destabilization"). A related gambit is to invite as many people as you can who have no interest whatsoever, nor any conceivable contribution to make, while excluding people you don't want, either by calling the meeting in their absence or simply forgetting to circulate their copy of the agenda.

The same goes for minutes. Minutes are best written before the meeting and circulated to a select few. Minutes, of course, reflect what you have decided, rather than what the participants said. You may want to distribute "minutes" to folk who thought they'd simply been shooting the breeze in your office, or while traveling. You can formalize any kind of discussion by calling it a meeting. ("Come in, Howard, we're having a meeting.") Or, "Howard, you remember that meeting we had on the flight from Paris the other day?"

Keeping the initiative is the essence of meetingmanship. You need to consider where you're going to meet. The approach might be casual: "Your office or mine?" Or, "I've managed to get the boardroom." Or more authoritative: "I've decided we ought to get away from the office." You also need to decide whether to turn up early, which may involve changing the time at the last moment ("I thought we'd start early, Howard, I'll find you in later") or late ("Sorry I'm late, Howard, would you quickly recap?" or not at all).

Which tactic you use will depend on who is in the chair. Some meetings are leadless when they start — a chairman emerging by dint of rank or strength of personality. A useful role to play is that of "shadow chairman," speaking, as it were, from the back benches; this is often done as a prelude to conducting a meeting within a meeting.

You may also need to decide whether to

make your presentation on slides, an overhead projector or on a flip-chart (this is useful for brainstorming, when you control the meeting by selectively writing down what people say). Whether you decide to take notes — or ostentatiously not to take notes — may depend on the kind of "statement" you want to make.

You must consider, too, whether to hand out copies of your presentation before, during, or after the meeting. And to whom. Tactics may dictate whether you adjourn for lunch, work through or send out for sandwiches.

Breakfast meetings have become popular; they have a sense of urgency, of austerity. People you need to see may be plausibly booked up weeks ahead for lunch and dinner, but if they are seriously interested in meeting you, the chances are they'll be able to squeeze in breakfast tomorrow. I know people (probably not the kind of people you want to know), who schedule several breakfast meetings a day.

Telephone meetings — such as a teleconference by satellite from your yacht cruising off the Turkish coast — have a unique sense of urgency and putative fulfillment. There's no need to dress for the part. And you can always get someone to say you're in a meeting or in a meeting.

THE FREQUENT TRAVELER

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The same goes for minutes. Minutes are

INTERNATIONAL ARTS AGENDA

AUSTRIA

Linz
Neue Galerie der Stadt (tel: 2383.9800). To April 2: 200 graphic works by Max Ernst, including illustrated books and lithographs.

Vienna
Museum des 20. Jahrhunderts (tel: 78.25.50). To April 7: Japanese Art of the Edo Period. Modern sculpture and painting juxtapose two contrasting artistic stances: a meditative movement influenced by Buddhist philosophy and an eclectic movement that responds to the modern world. Staatsoper (tel: 514.440). "La Cenerentola" by Gioacchino Rossini, conductor: Claus Hübner. To March 10 (premiere), 13, 16, 19.

BELGIUM

Brussels
Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (tel: 732.02.20). To April 21: "Paintings for the Sky": 120 ideas painted by international artists including Stella and Rauschenberg. Palais des Beaux-Arts (tel: 507.84.72). To May 12: An documentary exhibition in celebration of King Baudouin of Belgium traces forty years of Belgian history. Includes paintings, photographs, audiovisual installations, objects and a festival of Belgian films at the Cinéma du Roi de Belgique.

DENMARK

Copenhagen
Louisiana Museum (tel: 42.18.07.18). To April 14: "Viers 1900": Paintings, drawings, posters, silver, porcelain and furniture by Gustav Klimt, Egon Schiele, Oscar Kokoschka, Richard Gernsheim, Kokoschka and others.

ENGLAND

London
British Museum (tel: 636.1555). To March 24: Archaeology and the Bible. One of the Dead Sea Scrolls is among 300 exhibits from the Holy Land dating back 9,000 years. National Portrait Gallery (tel: 305.0055). To March 17: "The India and the British, 1600-1947": Includes paintings, prints and photographs, as well as textiles, furnishings and a rare example of 17th-century elephant armor. Tate Gallery (tel: 821.1313). To April 21: In celebration of the centenary of Max Ernst's birth, the first major survey of his work since he moved to Britain in 1939. Includes 100 paintings, drawings, collages and sculptures.

FRANCE

Arles
Espace van Gogh (tel: 80.36.29.35). To May 12: "Picasso."

GERMANY

Berlin
Deutsche Oper (tel: 34.10.249). New production of Verdi's "Otello." la Provence et Jacqueline. 60 paintings, drawings and sculptures. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale (tel: 47.03.81.10). To March 17: "Mémorial de l'Égypte": A multi-media exhibition commemorating the bicentenary of the birth of the Egyptologist J.F. Champollion (1790-1832) includes 300 exhibits. Fondation: Mona Blumark (tel: 47.23.38.88). To March 18: A retrospective of Ernie Bornard, one of the founders of the Port-Aven School. Galerie Urban (tel: 42.65.21.94). To March 30: Models, gouaches and sketches by Alexander Calder. Institut du Monde Arabe (40.51.38.38). To March 10: "Rimbaud-Aden: After Rimbaud." Marking the 100th anniversary of Arthur Rimbaud's death, this exhibition traces the poet's journey to Yemen. Musée Diderot (tel: 46.00.01.50). To April 22: "Spoon-Sculptures." Over 100 pieces in wood, ivory, bone or brass used as spoons in traditional Africa. Paris Art Center (tel: 43.22.38.47). To March 30: Shown for the first time in France, a retrospective of Russian-born artist Vladimir Yankilevsky, ranging from pastels of his early career to works from his 1930 New York "People in Boxes" exhibition.

ITALY

Milan
Palazzo Reale (tel: 87.19.13). To April 28: "Settecento Lombardo: Masters and Apprentices from 1680 to 1780." More than 500 works in-

cluding paintings by Crespi, Ricci and Borroni, and sculptures and engravings by Caviglioli and Bellini. Teatro alla Scala (tel: 887.9211). Puccini's "La Fanciulla del West." L'Orchestra Sinfonica, conductor: Jonathan Miller. Stage director: March 6, 10, 13, 17, 20, 24, 27, 29.

NETHERLANDS

Amsterdam
Joods Historisch Museum (tel: 26.99.45). To April 7: The documentary exhibition "The Ghetto in Venice" covers the period between the 16th century and Napoleon's abolition of the ghetto in 1797. Stedelijk Museum (tel: 573.29.11). To March 31: Magnum photographs. Includes works by Robert Capa, Henri Cartier-Bresson and David Seymour.

JAPAN

Kanagawa
Kanagawa Prefecture Museum of Modern Art (tel: 467.22.5000). To March 17: "Revelation of the Mayan Civilization." On display are earthenware and stone implements, parts of painted walls from Mayan cities, clay dolls, dishes and weapons.

HUNGARY

Budapest
Museumok. To March 24: 88 works by Andy Warhol, including "Marilyn" and "Campbell's Soup."

SCOTLAND

Edinburgh
Scottish National Portrait Gallery (tel: 558.88.21). To April 14: Photographs by Francis Frith, 19th century travel photographer, taken during his three expeditions to Egypt and the Holy Land.

SPAIN

Barcelona
Fundación Caixa de Pensions (tel: 317.57.57). To March 24: The complete collection of Francisco Cambo, including works by Botticelli, Perugino, Titian, El Greco, Goya and Rubens.

UNITED STATES

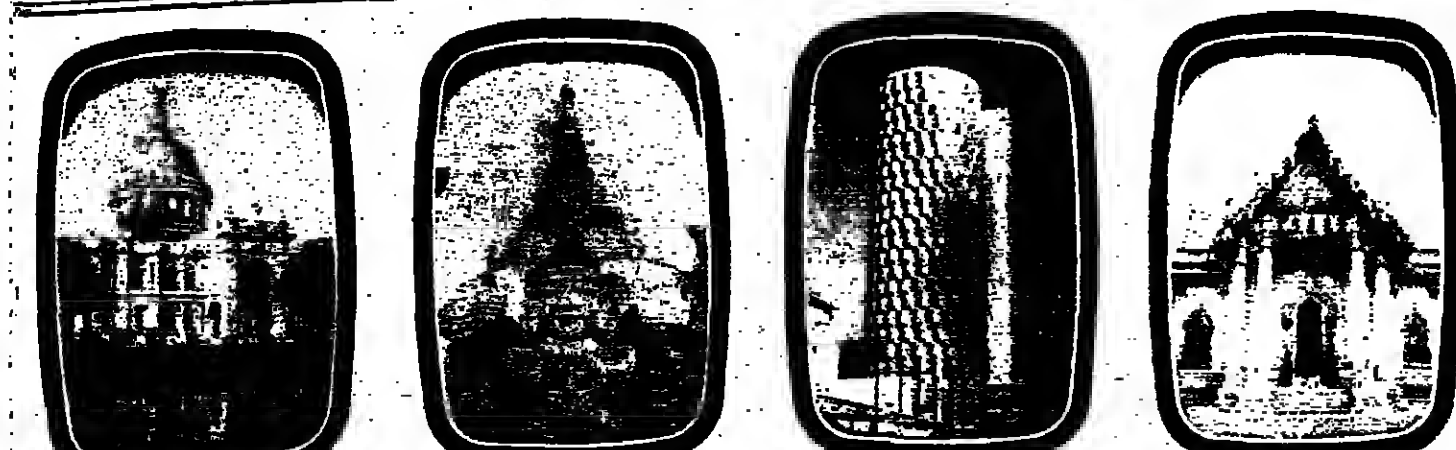
Madison
Centro de Arte Reina Sofia (tel: 467.50.82). To April 7: 12 video installations by Francisco Torres. Fundación Juan March (tel: 435.42.40). To April 28: "Portraits of Jacqueline": 100 paintings, sculptures and prints inspired by and dedicated to Picasso's last wife.

SWITZERLAND

Fribourg
Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (tel: 22.85.71). To April 7: A number of Jean Tinguely's pieces from a Moscow exhibition last spring, as well as from the museum's collection, and recent works, shown in his hometown.

WASHINGTON

Corcoran Gallery (tel: 638.3211). To March 31: "Tony Cragg: Sculpture 1975-1990." Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (tel: 357.2700). To May 25: "Anton Seur: Photographs of Man." Human society at the turn of the century.



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WALL STREET WATCH

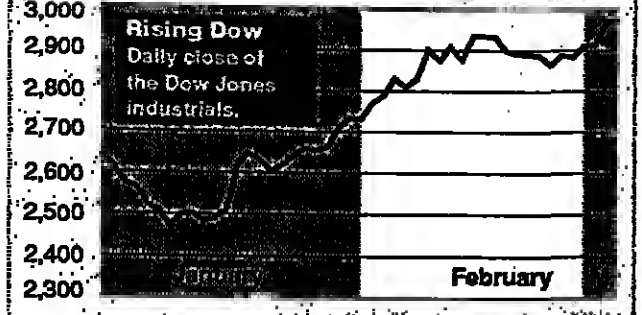
Stock Markets Heat Up But Big Firms Are Cool

By Kurt Eichenwald
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — After months of gloom, investors returned to buying U.S. stocks with a passion in the first months of 1991, sending the Dow Jones industrial average climbing at a giddy rate—a rise of more than 500 points since mid-January. Investors, who had pulled back from the market as losses spread in 1990, are suddenly making money again.

So why is the joy so restrained on Wall Street? One big reason is that most investment houses are now in so many other lines of business they no longer look solely to the

Despite Dow, Woes Persist



stock market for their profits. In the past decade, firms have expanded their businesses in mergers and acquisitions, securities underwriting and fund trading.

That means that because of their expansion, companies such as Merrill Lynch & Co. and Shearson Lehman Brothers, which depended mostly on their retail-brokerage operations a decade ago, have much less in profits to gain or lose, on daily stock trading.

Much of the expansion has cost Wall Street firms so dearly that they have yet to recover, even as the stock market has rallied. Meanwhile, the firms, and their well-heeled parents, have to keep paying the overhead and other expenses to stay in those businesses. That quickly saps up revenue, especially when it comes from primarily one source.

"In order to have reasonable returns and pay people a reasonable amount, you have to have a big year across the board, in every business," said Michael D. Madden, co-head of investment banking at Lehman Brothers. "That is why people aren't kicking up their heels."

Wednesday, the market gave investors even more cause for joy. The Dow briefly spilled over 3,000 twice before easing to close at 2,973.27, up 0.75. On Thursday, however, the index eased 9.90 points to finish at 2,963.37.

Of course, with Big Board trading volume topping 200 million See WALL STREET, Page 13

J.P. Morgan's Preston Is Expected to Head World Bank

By Hobart Rowen
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Barber B. Conable Jr., the president of the World Bank, announced unexpectedly Wednesday night that he would retire on Sept. 1.

Lewis T. Preston, 64, who retired in February as chairman of the executive committee of J.P. Morgan & Co., is expected to be named by the White House as Mr. Conable's successor at the institution, which has become the major contributor of development funds to the world's poorest countries.

Mr. Conable, a former senior Republican representative from New York, informed the World Bank's executive board of his retirement and then telephoned journalists to explain.

"At the age of 68, and after five years on the job with irritated stomach linings, I decided it was time to do something else," he said.

Mr. Conable, who has been a close friend of President George Bush since their years together in the House of Representatives, could have been reappointed had he wanted, according to sources. "But he's pulled by a desire to spend more time with family," a close colleague said.

Three of the Conables' grown children live within a few miles of his home in Alexander, New York.

Mr. Preston, a member of the influential Business Council, which meets regularly with top government officials, joined J.P. Morgan in 1959 and was its chairman and chief executive officer from 1980 to 1989. Apart from a seat on the board of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, Mr. Preston has had no previous government service.

He has spent his entire career at Morgan, much of it in the bank's international operations. He ran its London office in the

1960s, but later as a top official in New York dealt extensively with bank operations in the Middle East, Asia and Latin America, focusing heavily on issues of Third World debt.

"He took Morgan from a straight commercial bank to a multifaceted financial firm," one bank official said.

The United States is the World Bank's largest shareholder and its nomination of Mr. Preston is almost certain to be approved.

Mr. Conable succeeded A. W. Clausen as head of the bank and steered the huge institution back toward a concentration on alleviating poverty. He considers his major achievement a successful drive to force World Bank loan officers to consider the potentially negative effects on the environment of its operations around the globe.

With the support and inspiration of his wife, Mr. Conable also nudged the huge

bank bureaucracy to pay more attention to the rights and problems of women in the Third World. A repeated theme of his major speeches became the "linkage" of women's problems to those of population control, family, health and education.

He once said that population growth in the Third World had to be limited to cope with "the moral outrage" of widespread poverty in poorer countries.

In the last two years, Mr. Conable also took an active role in helping to seek debt reduction for poor countries, and most recently pledged the bank to play an important part in financing East European recovery.

Early in 1990, he announced more than \$5 billion in World Bank loans for the former East bloc countries.

Mr. Conable has never had a problem in walking away from high positions at the peak of his power. In 1984, as the senior

Republican on the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee, he announced he would retire at the end of that term, his tenth. "For me, 30 years is long enough," he said at the time.

But James A. Baker Jr., then the Treasury secretary, persuaded him to take the World Bank job in 1986, even though Mr. Conable conceded that he knew little about international banking and the development needs of the Third World, two of the key responsibilities of the World Bank.

"It was a rocky beginning," Mr. Conable said Wednesday, "but I'm pleased with what we were able to accomplish, especially in terms of the environment and attention to the problems of women."

Mr. Preston is committed to stay at Morgan until Sept. 1, which means that the World Bank's board, to prevent a gap in the presidency, will extend Mr. Conable's term for two months.

Chrysler Dividend Cut by Half — but Less Than Feared

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

DETROIT — Chrysler Corp. halved its quarterly stock dividend on Thursday to save about \$134 million a year, part of an effort by the struggling U.S. automaker to cut costs across the board.

The board of directors cut the dividend to 15 cents from 30 cents after speculation on Wall Street that the dividend would be cut more severely or even eliminated.

"Reducing the dividend was the prudent and sensible thing to do in light of the dismal market conditions of the past few months," said Chrysler's vice chairman, Robert S. Miller, in a statement. "We still have long-term confidence in the business, however, so it would have been inappropriate to eliminate the dividend."

Chrysler's stock rose 62.5 cents to \$14.50 a share. Analysts said the cut was not as severe as feared. "It appears to me the worst is over for the company, and the stock will begin to outperform the market," said John Casella, an analyst at Wertheim Schroeder.

A dividend cut is one of the most severe actions a publicly traded company can take to reduce costs,

because it generally arouses the wrath of shareholders. Lee A. Iacocca, Chrysler's chairman, declared about one year ago that it would take "a nuclear war" for Chrysler to make such a move.

But many U.S. companies have been forced to cut their dividends over the past several months because of the recession's impact on their profits.

The three leading U.S. automakers have suffered a massive slowdown in recent months as the recession, higher fuel prices and intense Asian competition cut into sales. Production has been scaled back and layoffs announced.

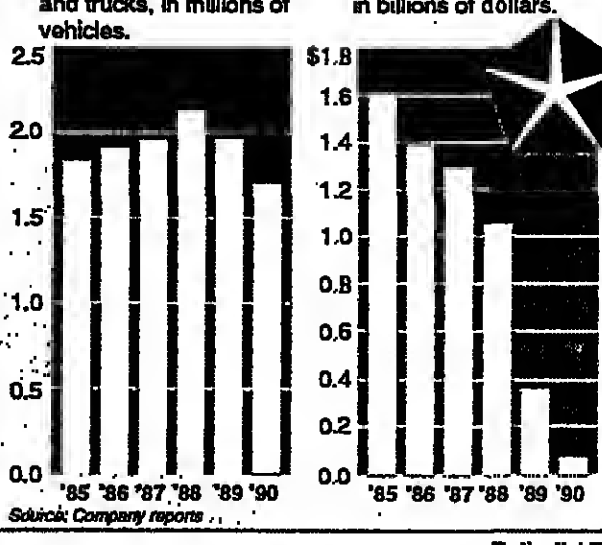
Like Chrysler, General Motors Corp. cut its quarterly dividend recently to 40 cents a share from 75 cents. Ford Motor Co. has left its dividend unchanged so far, but it will consider the 75-cent payout again next month.

Chrysler has been particularly vulnerable to the auto downturn. Reports surfaced recently about serious defects in an automatic transmission Chrysler has used in some of its most popular models.

Mr. Iacocca ordered an unusual campaign to cater to disgruntled

A Carmaker's Headaches

U.S. sales have slipped
Sales of passenger cars and trucks, in millions of vehicles.



owners and minimize any damage to the image of the No. 3 American automaker, and that program has been successful.

But Chrysler has also been grappling with a weak balance sheet caused by two years of eroding profit margins. The company needs money and has been conferring with a consortium of 38 banks to structure a \$1.7 billion loan. Executives are also searching for a buyer for an equity stake in Chrysler's financial subsidiary.

One reason profit has been poor is that Chrysler has not spent enough money on new vehicles in recent years, and no new models will be ready until next year's introduction of a new Jeep and a new midsize car, code-named L/H. With few exciting products, expensive rebates have been necessary to support sales.

Critics of the company also say Chrysler wasted time and money in the mid-1980s on nonautomotive projects.

(AP, NYT, Reuters)

Dow Pauses After Runs at 3,000 Level

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — Prices on the New York Stock Exchange closed lower Thursday in a late bout of profit-taking, pausing after the Dow's unsuccessful attempts Wednesday to top the 3,000 mark.

The Dow Jones industrial average, which had risen 0.75 Wednesday, fell 9.90 to close at 2,963.37.

Stocks meandered in a narrow range throughout most of the day after the roller-coaster market on Wednesday, when the Dow twice skirted into record territory above 3,000 and heavy gains unraveled in profit-taking.

Shares in Europe mostly drifted to a lower close as traders took profits after Wednesday's robust advances. Paris was the exception: institutional buyers flocked to the Bourse, pushing blue-chip stocks to a seven-month high.

Among broader U.S. market gauges, the New York Stock Exchange composite index lost 0.17 to 2,953.36 and the Standard & Poor's 500-stock index fell 0.26 to 375.91. The price of an average share eased 3 cents.

Declines led advances by an 8-7 ratio. Volume totaled 197.06 million shares, down from the 262.29 million traded Wednesday.

Analysts had expected a quiet session after Wednesday's attempts to push the Dow above 3,000. The day turned out to be just that — quiet, directionless and featureless, with players focusing on the release of U.S. job data for February, scheduled for Friday.

Employment is expected to have fallen again last month, with non-farm payrolls down 126,000 and the civilian unemployment rate expected to be up 0.1 of a point to 6.4 percent. Analysts said the data should show that the U.S. economy was still mired in recession during February.

Many traders believe the Federal Reserve places great importance on the employment data in deciding whether further interest-rate cuts to spur the economy are in order.

"A good portion of players were looking at the job data Friday," said Dale Tills, manager of institu-

See STOCKS, Page 12

Bonn Report Curbs Optimism for 1991

By Richard E. Smith
International Herald Tribune

FRANKFURT — The German government predicted in a report to be released Friday that inflation in western Germany will be higher and growth will be lower in 1991 than the government had hoped only a few months ago, due to an economic slowdown abroad and the strains of reunification.

But it said the ailing economy in eastern Germany will turn around some time this year, even though unemployment there may rise as high as two million.

The government view is considerably more optimistic than that of a number of economists and think tanks. They have recently begun to doubt that a turnaround will begin until 1992 and projected unemployment as high as three million.

The government did not quantify any forecasts for eastern Germany.

Allianz insurance expects a 500 million DM loss from business in eastern Germany, Page 13.

Germany Hit by Big Trade Gap

By Marc Fisher
Washington Post Service

BONN — The powerful demand for Western goods among eastern Germans has combined with a weak world economy to deal Germany its first trade deficit in five years — a sign that German unity and the recession in Europe and America are causing strains in Europe's most powerful economy.

The German Federal Statistics Office announced Thursday that the current account dropped to a 1.2 billion Deutsche mark (\$800 million) deficit in January, compared with a 10.2 billion DM surplus one year before.

The January numbers may be unusually stark because many German industries start down for several weeks in the late December-early January holiday season. But the deficit is part of a clear trend since Communist East Germany was absorbed into the west in October. The German trade surplus dropped by 20 percent in all of 1990.

Economists put the blame for the sharp decline on the unexpectedly strong demand for everything from cars to clothes by the former East Germans, who spent heavily in their first Christmas season as members of a capitalist society.

The high demand forced German imports to jump by 24 percent in January, while exports slipped by 2 percent, a result of weakened economies in Germany's main trading partners, including the United States, Britain and other countries struggling with recession.

Thursday's news follows the announcement last month of big tax increases to save off economic collapse in eastern Germany.

"It is all a sign of the change in the east," said Ulrich Ramm, chief economist at Frankfurt's Commerzbank. "The costs of unification are higher than expected."

Most of Dresdner Bank, predicted that wage demands of 6 percent would be inflationary or cause profit cuts if the economy is only growing at 2 to 2.5 percent. Since many labor leaders are asking for considerably more, some economists predict that inflation could

See GERMANY, Page 12

CURRENCY RATES

Cross Rates
March 7

	U.S.	DM	FF	Yen	Sw	Fr	GBP	Other
Amsterdam	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Bremen	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Frankfurt	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
London (C)	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Madrid	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Paris	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
New York (C)	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Porto	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Tokyo	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Yokohama	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Zurich	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
1 Mark	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
1 DM	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215

Closest in Amsterdam, London and Zurich, others in other centers. New York closes rates and Toronto rates of 3 p.m.
C: To buy one pound; S: To buy one dollar; U: Units of 100; M: Not quoted; N.A.: Not available.

Other Dollar Values
March 7

	Per \$	Per \$	Per \$	Per \$	Per \$	Per \$	Per \$	Per \$
Argentine	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Australia	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Canada	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Denmark	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
France	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Germany	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Italy	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Japan	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
South Korea	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Spain	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Sweden	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Switzerland	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Taiwan	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Thailand	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
U.K.	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
U.S.	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
West Germany	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Yokohama	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215

New York rates unless marked "local rate".

Forward Rates
March 7

	30-day	60-day	90-day	120-day	150-day	180-day	210-day	240-day
Amsterdam	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Bremen	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Frankfurt	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
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Closest in Amsterdam, London and Zurich, others in other centers. New York closes rates and Toronto rates of 3 p.m.
C: To buy one pound; S: To buy one dollar; U: Units of 100; M: Not quoted; N.A.: Not available.

Interest Rates
March 7

	1-month	3-month	6-month	9-month	12-month	15-month	18-month	21-month	24-month
Amsterdam	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215	1.215
Bremen	1.215	1.215	1.215						

MARKET DIARY

STOCKS: Dow Takes a Breather

(Continued from first finance page)
tional equity trading at Charles Schwab & Co. in San Francisco.
Profit-taking late in the day took NYSE prices lower.
"The market kind of ran out of steam in the last half hour after bonds closed," Mr. Tills said. "Bonds were up a 1/2-point and peo-

N.Y. Stocks

ple were disappointed we didn't do more with the advance in bonds. People said, 'Let's just take some profits, take another look at things tomorrow and maybe buy at a little lower level.'"

In London, the Financial Times Stock Exchange index of 100 leading shares ended 22.2 points lower at 4,377.7.

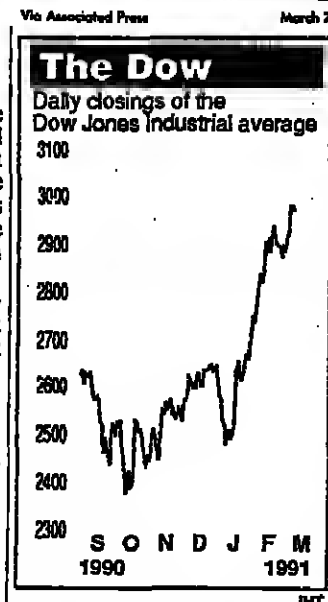
The 30-share German DAX index fell 13.86 points to 1,580.46, and in Zurich the all-share Swiss Performance Index ended 2.2 points down at 1,046.3.

But Paris went its own way. The CAC index of 40 top shares ended up 10.84 points, or 0.60 percent, at 1,831.83, its highest close since Aug. 3. "Some French institutions are getting a bit panicky because they haven't put their money in," a trader said.

On the New York Stock Exchange, RJR Nabisco was the most active issue, up 1/2 to 10 1/2. First Chicago followed, off 1/2 to 23 1/2. Navistar was third, up 1/2 to 4 1/2.

Shares of Square D Co. rose above Schneider SA's tender offer price on speculation that Schneider or another company would make a higher bid for Square D. Analysts said Square D shares were up 2 1/2 to 79 1/2. Paris-based Schneider is pressing a \$78-a-share tender offer for the electrical-products firm.

Unisys was also active, holding 1 1/2 to 5 1/2. Late Wednesday it introduced what it said was the industry's fastest mainframe computer, the 3090.



NYSE Most Active

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
1,234,567	100.50	99.50	100.00	+0.50
987,654	23.50	23.00	23.25	+0.25
876,543	4.50	4.25	4.375	+0.125

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March 7

Daily closings of the Dow Jones Industrial average

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Dow Jones	3100.00	3080.00	3090.00	+10.00
S&P 500	100.50	100.00	100.25	+0.25
NASDAQ	4.50	4.25	4.375	+0.125

Standard & Poor's Indexes

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Industrials	100.50	100.00	100.25	+0.25
Transportation	100.50	100.00	100.25	+0.25
Utilities	100.50	100.00	100.25	+0.25
Finance	100.50	100.00	100.25	+0.25
SP 500	100.50	100.00	100.25	+0.25

NYSE Indexes

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Composite	100.50	100.00	100.25	+0.25
Industrials	100.50	100.00	100.25	+0.25
Utilities	100.50	100.00	100.25	+0.25
Finance	100.50	100.00	100.25	+0.25

NASDAQ Indexes

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Composite	4.50	4.25	4.375	+0.125
Industrials	4.50	4.25	4.375	+0.125
Utilities	4.50	4.25	4.375	+0.125
Finance	4.50	4.25	4.375	+0.125

AMEX Stock Index

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Composite	100.50	100.00	100.25	+0.25
Industrials	100.50	100.00	100.25	+0.25
Utilities	100.50	100.00	100.25	+0.25
Finance	100.50	100.00	100.25	+0.25

Dow Jones Bond Averages

Thursday's Closing
include the nationwide prices up to
ing on Wall Street and do not reflect
in elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

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WHO CAN PUT A CINEMA RIGHT IN YOUR LIVING ROOM?

WE CAN.

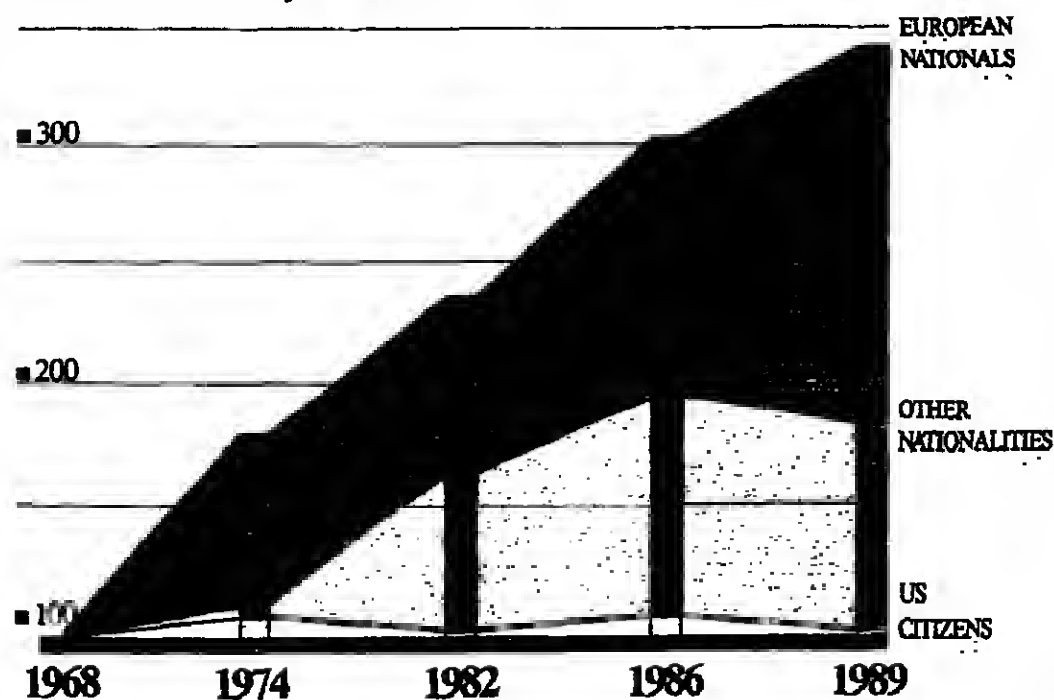
HITACHI

The name to remember in:
Power Systems and Equipment
Information and Communication Systems
Consumer Products **Electronic Devices**
Industrial Machinery and Plants

NYSE
Thursday - Closing

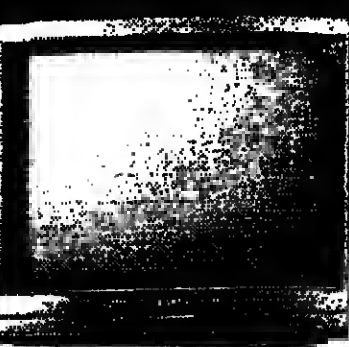
**In two brief decades,
IHT readership among Europeans
has more than tripled.**

*Who reads today's IHT?
Since the birth of the modern
International Herald Tribune in 1967, the newspaper's
readership among Europeans has increased by 241%.
During the same period the IHT's American readership
increased by 2%. Today, European decision makers
dominate the IHT's audience — as international research
studies consistently demonstrate.*



Herald INTERNATIONAL **Tribune**
Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post
The global newspaper.

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Industrial Machinery and Plants

NYSE
Closing

Thursday - Closing

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Stock	High	Low	Open	Close	Volume	Change
Am. Tobacco	44 1/2	44 1/2	44 1/2	44 1/2	100	+1/2
Am. Sugar	11 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Oil	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Cotton	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Lumber	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Paper	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Glass	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Rubber	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Leather	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Steel	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Iron	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Coal	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Petroleum	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Natural Gas	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Electric	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Telephone	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Cable	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Radio	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Automobile	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Aircraft	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Shipbuilding	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Repair	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Management	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Insurance	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Finance	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Legal	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Medical	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Dental	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Veterinary	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Pharmacy	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Food	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Clothing	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Furniture	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Electronics	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Telecommunications	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Transportation	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Logistics	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Security	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Defense	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Intelligence	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Information	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Research	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Development	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Innovation	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Creativity	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Art	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Music	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Literature	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Film	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Television	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Internet	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Mobile	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Cloud	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4
Am. Ship Big Data	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	100	+1/4

(Continued on next page)

NYSE Highs-Lows[illegible]

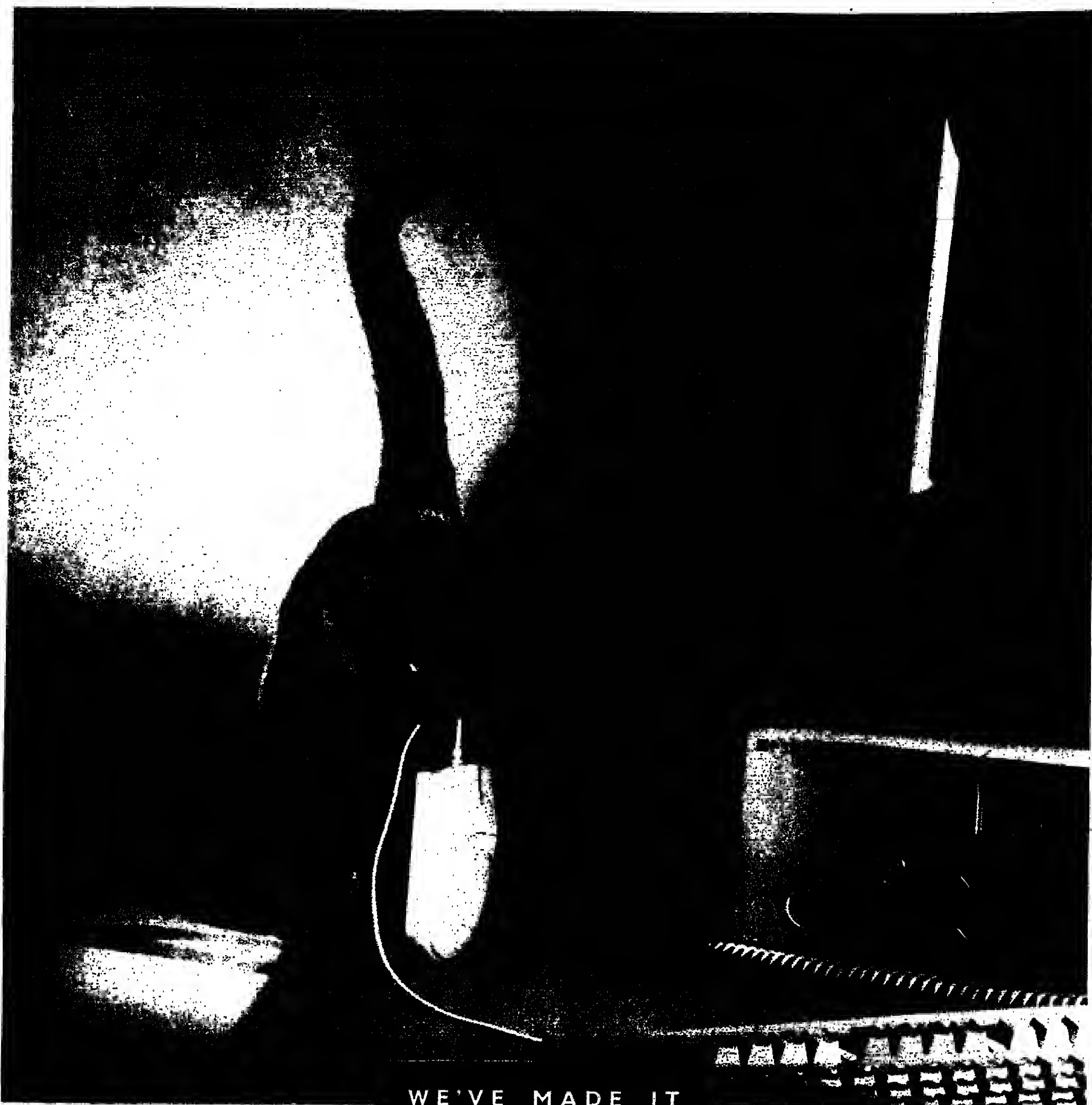
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A large, dense crowd of people gathered outdoors, possibly for a protest or public event. The image is very dark and grainy, with many small, indistinct figures visible. The crowd appears to be filling a large open space, with some darker areas that might be trees or structures in the background. The overall impression is one of a massive gathering of people.

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High Low Stock	DN Yld PE Togs High Low 4 P.A.C

SPORTS

Big Night For French In Soccer

Compiled by Our Staff From Despatches

Marseille and Montpellier lifted French hopes that this season may finally bring the nation a coveted European club soccer trophy after they earned unexpected ties in Milan and Manchester.

Olympique Marseille's 1-1 tie Wednesday night in its European Cup quarterfinal first leg left the champion, AC Milan, wondering if its two-year hold on the trophy could be about to end. Jean-Pierre Papin, the leading scorer in the French league, became the first player to score against Milan at home in European competition since October 1988.

His goal could be vital in securing a semifinal berth and bringing the club's president, Bernard Tapie, closer to his dream of seeing Marseille become the first French team to win a European club trophy.

The only clubs to come close were Real Madrid in European Cup finals in the 1950s, and St. Etienne, which lost to Bayern Munich in the final of the same competition in 1976.

Four Marseille fans on their way to Milan were charged with resisting arrest after the police in Alessandria, Italy, found weapons on buses carrying 500 French supporters. The police seized knives, rocks, clubs and helmets.

In Manchester on Wednesday night, Montpellier, playing with 10 men for most of the second half, took advantage of an own-goal by a Manchester United defender, Lee Martin, to gain a 1-1 tie in a Cup Winners' Cup match.

The hosts had taken an early lead in the quarterfinal when Brian McClair scored after 52 seconds.



Jean-Pierre Papin, left, and Bernard Tapie, center, join another Olympique Marseille teammate in celebration of Papin's goal.

But Montpellier tied the score six minutes later when striker Jack Zieher sent a cross in front of the goal and Martin, standing alone, kicked the ball into his own net.

Montpellier was forced to adopt a defensive strategy after Pascal Bailly was sent off early in the second half for lunging into Mark Hughes as the United player prepared for a free kick. (Reuters/AP)

Cruyff May Return

Johan Cruyff, coach of FC Barcelona, vowed Thursday to return to lead the team in about two

months. The Associated Press reported from Barcelona, where Cruyff was released from the hospital in which he underwent successful heart surgery.

In his first public comments since becoming ill Feb. 26, Cruyff told reporters, "I will return to normal activity within two weeks and within two months I'll be able to return to sports."

Cruyff, 43, smoked about two packs of cigarettes a day prior to his heart trouble. "But I've smoked my last cigarette, a fact that will change my life," he told reporters.

Purdue's Offensive Show Shocks No. 2 Ohio State

Compiled by Our Staff From Despatches

Purdue and No. 2 Ohio State switched roles. The Boilermakers shot well, controlled the tempo and held down the turnovers at West Lafayette, Indiana. The Buckeyes shot poorly and allowed easy baskets.

The result was a 72-67 Big Ten victory for Purdue over Ohio State on Wednesday night, enhancing the Boilermakers' National College

COLLEGE BASKETBALL

giate Athletic Association tournament hopes and denying the Buckeyes an outright league title.

Jimmy Oliver scored 27 points and Chuckie White had 21 for Purdue, 16-11 overall and 8-9 in conference play.

Purdue had its finest shooting night of the season at 61 percent, including 66.7 percent in the second half against a Buckeye defense

Kukoc Weighing Offers From Italy and NBA

MILAN — Yugoslav basketball star Toni Kukoc is expected to choose in the next few weeks among offers from two Italian clubs and the National Basketball Association's Chicago Bulls, Italian sources said.

Kukoc's agent, Luciano Capicchioni, is

scheduled to meet with representatives of the teams for a final round of talks in the next few days, Milan sources said.

Philips Milan and Benetton Treviso, both Italian teams, have offered up to \$3 million for two seasons to get Kukoc. The Chicago Bulls have been offering less, as a result of the NBA salary cap on each team.

Champion, clobbered Jackson State, 78-59, in Jackson, Mississippi, to earn its first bid. In Monroe, Louisiana, Anthony Jones scored 21 points as Northeast Louisiana overcame a shaky start en route to an 87-63 rout of Florida A&M. The Indians, champions of the Southland Conference, extended their winning streak to 16 games and improved to 25-7.

In Loretto, Pennsylvania, Joe Anderson had 32 points and 10 rebounds to lead St. Francis to a 70-64 victory over Fordham, giving the Northeastern Conference champions their first trip to the NCAA's. The Rams, winners of the Patriot League, still hope for an at-large bid.

Tournaments were to begin late Thursday in the Big East, Metro, Southeastern, Southwestern and Midwestern Collegiate conferences, while George Washington was to play at Penn State. (UPI/AP)

Georgetown's Big Men: 2, Too Much

By Mark Maske

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — It seems to belie the nature of basketball, where bigger usually is better, but the Georgetown Hoyas, like most of the game's previous experiments in "twin towers," have discovered that two dominating big men are not necessarily better than one.

With but a few exceptions, the double deployment has been a source of both optimism and, later, frustration. The Hoyas have added themselves this season to the list of frustrated, for the promise of an imposing year with Dikembe Mutombo and Alonzo Mourning has faded into a time of struggle and stress.

Many of the disappointments of both Georgetown and its two star big men can be attributed to the freshmen who man the Hoyas' perimeter. Missed jump shots and lazy entry passes don't do much toward extending the defenses that regularly collapse around the inside duo.

"Coaches aren't exactly geniuses; I'll leave the theory of relativity to someone else," said Jim Calhoun of Connecticut, whose team faces Georgetown on Friday in the opening round of the Big East tournament, as the Hoyas try to assure themselves of a 13th straight berth in the National College Athletic Association tournament. "But even I can figure out that you make them keep shooting from the outside until they hit a few shots."

Yet there may be a more fundamental flaw in the inability of Mutombo and Mourning to mesh. The Hoyas have been forced to ask themselves whether this alignment can function smoothly: perhaps there simply is not enough room around the basket for 14 feet (4.27 meters) worth of active, imposing basketball talent. Maybe there are not enough blocked shots, rebounds or followup dunks to go around.

"I don't think it benefits you so much unless one of them has perimeter skills," Georgetown's coach, John Thompson, said this week. "With Dikembe and Alonzo, both are primarily low-post players."

This season, the focus usually has been on Mutombo, who leads the Hoyas (16-1, 8-8 Big East) in scoring and rebounding and was a unanimous first-team all-conference selection in the coaches' postseason honors. The 7-foot-2-inch senior center also was

the league's defensive player of the year, an award he shared with Mourning last season.

Mourning has spent most of his time struggling with injury and inconsistency. The 6-foot-10-inch junior has moved to forward and played an unaccustomed role far from the basket. He also has battled the burden of unfulfilled expectations and this week he was reduced from preseason all-America to third-team all-Big East.

Thompson, himself half of a less-than-successful twin-towers attempt with Jim Hadnot in his playing days at Providence, has attested to Mourning's heightened frustration level as the Hoyas have tumbled out of the national rankings. Thompson has used the analogy that a hand endowed with two thumbs would be stronger but not necessarily functional.

An NBA scout at a recent Hoyas game said the twin towers concept "doesn't work for Georgetown, partly because they can't shoot from the outside, but also partly because Mourning and Mutombo basically do not complement one another very well."

Said Thompson: "It's not so much Dikembe and Alonzo as a failure for the whole situation to mesh. You have to rely on others to get the ball to you."

The Hoyas went 10-8 with their towers intact, compared to 6-3 during the six-week stretch when Mourning was sidelined with a strained left arch. They played some of their best basketball of the season in that period, when Mutombo averaged 17 points, 13 rebounds and 11 shots a game (compared to 14, 12 and 8 alongside Mourning) and Georgetown's perimeter players applied the kind of all-court defensive pressure that the twin towers forbid.

Yet Mourning has been a victim more than a culprit, averaging only eight shots in his 12 Big East games. Mutombo's on-court moves elicit gushings of wonderment from spectators, but Mourning must dominate simply to do what's expected of him. "It's something I have to learn to live with," he said.

A loss to fourth-ranked Syracuse on Sunday actually might have enhanced Georgetown's chances in the Big East tournament. The Hoyas will face Connecticut instead of surging Seton Hall on Friday and they're bracketed in the half of the field with St. John's. Instead of Syracuse, the only conference team they did not beat this season.

NCAA Statistical Leaders

Team		(through March 4)		Brown, Steve		SR	32	266	75	122	749	24			
				Smith, Mo		SR	26	321	1	123	404	24			
Team		Points		Free Throw Pct.		Cl G		Re		Ass		St		Bl	
Prosser, D	W	19	27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
N. Linhorst	W	27	24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Yule	W	24	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Leggett, St	W	20	17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Georgetown	W	16	11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Was-Green, N	W	16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
St. Peter's	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Montgomery, N.J.	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Utah	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tennessee	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Temple	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Palmer, St	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Coastal Carolina	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
South Carolina	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Florida	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
New Orleans	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Team	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Florida International	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Southern U.	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
UNLV	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Arkansas	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Oakland	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
E. Tennessee, St.	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Texas-Arlington	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
UCLA	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
S. Utah, St.	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
LNU	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
San Antonio	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Delaware, St.	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wyatt, St.	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
La Louisiane	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
N.C. State	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Team	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Scarsdale	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Brooklyn/JHS	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Madison, Mo	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Midwest, WMI	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ohio, St	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lawrence, Loyd	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Phillips, South	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Monroe, N.C.S.I.	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Oakland, LSU	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Trinity, Mo	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Murdoch, Prov	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Brundage, Orr	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Anderson, Conn	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Smith, Mich'S	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Shuckley, Brody	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Harper, Chicks	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Davis, Del'S	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Gaults, Loyitt	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Iozzella, SF	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wounded-Scott	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Almer, Cap'n	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Miner, SoCal	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bord, Waco	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wilson, Ford	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Houston, Tenn	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Johnson, UNLV	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Owens, Syr	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
MacLean, UCLA	W	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Under the Dodger Blue Sky, Strawberry Is Ripe for Picking

By Thomas Boswell

Washington Post Service

VERO BEACH, Fla. — As the ball left Darryl Strawberry's bat and bore its way through a morning breeze, one Dodger called out in mock awe. "There goes another one of those things!" Then, as the ball seemed to ignore both wind and gravity, smashing into a palm about 420 feet (128 meters) away, the player's shout turned to genuine awe.

"Don't hurt the tree!" he yelled.

Everything here is as it should be. "Are you happy?" snaps Manager Tommy Lasorda in Tim Belcher's surprised face. "Of course I'm happy," snaps back Belcher. "Who says I ain't?"

Here the sky is pure blue without a cloud, just as the Dodgers' uniforms are.

Vantage Point

With just enough breeze so you can tan without sweating. Also, the wind makes the palms sway, just so you know they're real.

One morning this week the controversial Strawberry stood up in a team meeting, as all Lasorda players must, introduced himself as a pitcher and answered any questions his new teammates wanted to ask him.

Belcher, Chris Gwynn and Orel Hershiser — "Donahue," "Oprah" and "Koppel" — to their teammates — led the combination of questions and answers. No other team has such a schmalzy, hair-down bonding tradition, one that is pure Lasorda.

Once upon a time, at least in a fan's mind, all spring training camps were a combination of just sights, sounds, and silliness. All players talked about fresh starts and redoubled dreams.

These days, however, the economic security of huge contracts has allowed the modern player to show his true, unfettered nature. Unfortunately,

If Ricky Henderson isn't showing up late for the Oakland A's camp when he's only making \$12 million for four years, then the A's are hiring Reggie Jackson as a private tutor for Jose Canseco in The Magnitude of Being Me.

Here, the Dodgers have a joke to deflate players who mean about salary. "Want to double your money?" they say. "Fold it in half."

It helps, of course, that the Dodgers can afford to have 14 players with salaries exceeding \$900,000 a season and could shell out \$30 million over the winter to sign Strawberry and Bret Butler, the National League's best lefthand man, as free agents.

But it also helps that the man in charge for the last 15 springs has been Lasorda, winner of six division flags, four league pennants and two World Series. His relationship with Strawberry illustrates his Be-Happy-Or-I'll-Kill-You method. The Straw Man already has done a TV commercial for Mrs. Lasorda's spaghetti sauce. And, in the true limits test, done it for free.

If Lasorda's methods worked on Eddie Murray, who'd become catatonic in Baltimore yet roused himself to lead the majors in hitting (.330) last season, why can't they help Strawberry play like \$21 million?

"Some players in New York said things about me leaving because they didn't understand," Strawberry said this week. "They were looking at the money. I was looking at the happiness."

A Cloudburst From Ojeda

The Associated Press

VERO BEACH, Fla. — In what he called an uncharacteristic display of anger, left-handed pitcher Bob Ojeda strongly criticized the New York Mets Wednesday, saying he felt ripped off over the way they used him last season.

"I want to have the kind of year this year that I could have had for the New York Mets last year," Ojeda said at the Dodgers' spring training facility. "Last year was such a joke. I could have helped them win the division, without a doubt."

"It's something I'll never forget. I feel like I got ripped off, I got robbed. The last six weeks of the year, I think I pitched three innings."

Ojeda, 33, has started 222 of the 280 major league games in which he's appeared, but he got the ball at the beginning of only 12 games last season. He appeared in relief 26 times and was traded to the Dodgers along with pitcher Greg Hansell for outfielder Hubie Brooks last Dec. 15.

"Either I got a year ripped off from me," he said, "or I added another year to my career."

Rickie Henderson, most valuable player of the American League, showed up at the Oakland A's training camp in Scottsdale, Arizona, on Thursday, saying his one-day absence was due to a missed airplane, not his simmering salary dispute with the team.

"I missed one day," he said. "If I'm going to make a statement, I'll make it in the middle of the season. I think they know what I'm saying."

Those who snicker at the Dodgers' approach should look again. For instance, don't be too sure you know Lasorda inside out. His only son, Tommy Jr., is extremely ill. "I know he has cancer," says Lasorda. "But I've got to forget. If I walk in here grieved, what happens to this team?"

Some might view Lasorda as a man who sugarcoats or evades. Yet he touches deep places and deep needs in many of his players. In private, he's actually confrontational, in his way.

"Somebody said I was the only manager who could tell a player to go to hell and make him think he was going on a cruise," says Lasorda.

Lasorda already may be working on Strawberry. He told Strawberry he could skip games on Friday and Saturday against the Mets in Port St. Lucie, where New York fans will surely await him.

So Strawberry has volunteered to play Saturday. "I might as well get ready for the boos," he said. "I won't miss them, they'll miss me."

Strawberry, who once avoided eye contact, now seeks it. Partly it's his well-documented rehabilitation from a drinking problem. Partly it's his newly found religion. But partly it may also be the Dodgers.

"I can concentrate on what's important now and not deal with chaos, like I have the last seven years," Strawberry said. "Just watch me. All I have to do here is take it one day at a time, enjoy the game, the city, my family and my friends. Glory."

SPORTS



Bob Ojeda tested his arm in the Dodgers' camp, then tested the patience of his former team, the New York Mets, by criticizing the way he was used. The Mets put Ojeda in the bullpen for much of 1990.

Palmer's First Pitch In 7 Years: Healthy Start in an Ill Wind

By Richard Justice

Washington Post Service

SARASOTA, Fla. — Frank Robinson joked that it seemed like 1966 all over again, with Jim Palmer in one dugout and Sandy Koufax in the other, with Brooks Robinson creeping in from third and the Baltimore Orioles about to win their first World Series.

"You catch yourself remembering little things," the manager said. "You look out there and everything looks normal."

Not everything, but certainly Hall of Famer Jim Palmer, 45, who passed another small test this windy afternoon when he survived two innings of a spring training intrasquad game.

He threw 38 pitches and allowed two walks, five hits and two earned runs in his first competitive outing since 1984. Catcher Chris Hoiles hit a hanging curveball over the left field fence as Palmer, and almost every other Oriole pitcher, struggled to find the strike zone as 25-mile per hour (40-kilometer per hour) winds whipped around the field.

"You can tell our manager hit 586 home runs," Palmer said, smiling. "We played on a field with the wind blowing out. If he'd been a pitcher, he'd have had the wind in the hitters' faces."

He said his right elbow and shoulder still felt fine. He said he had hoped for better command of the strike zone and expected to find it. "It was a good first step," Robinson said. "We even got by on less. He'll get sharper and he's already ahead of where I expected him to be."

But Palmer said that he still has no idea whether he'll pitch in the big leagues again.

"They gave me the option of not pitching in a game like this," he said. "But I thought after missing seven years, I'd better get out there every chance I could. The barometer will be next time out. I should improve as far as location and the strike zone."

But he added: "I feel more confident. I still have to make good pitches, and it's tough after seven years. After throwing batting practice twice in a row, my arm is a little tired. I was encouraged just by how

I felt warming up. With the wind like that, my curveball was not what I wanted. On a normal day, the curve to Hoiles doesn't hang, and he takes it."

He repeated that he won't have a good indication of where he stands until Monday afternoon, when he's scheduled to start and pitch three innings against the Boston Red Sox.

"I have to think there'll be a drastic improvement the next two or three starts," he said. "The bottom line is I have to be able to get some velocity and throw the breaking balls and change-ups over when I'm behind in the count."

And he admitted he probably won't be around on opening day if youngsters Jose Mesa and Mike Mussina pitch well.

Palmer attracted all three television networks and dozens of reporters. He had worked about 15 minutes on the mound, then spent more than an hour discussing the workout with reporters.

He again had given the Orioles a clinic on the art of pitching. "I can take some of the things he did and use it in the classroom tomorrow," the pitching coach, AJ Jackson, said. "I've had two meetings to talk to guys about working fast and going after hitters, throwing strikes. He goes out there and does it, and that puts it more in guys' minds than me talking for a year."

Palmer opened with a fastball strike to Luis Mercedes, threw a low fastball, then got him to fly to right field. Mike Devereaux looped a curveball into center field for a double, and Palmer walked Dwight Evans on four pitches.

"It was just like old times," Palmer said. "I threw a belt-high fastball and the umpire called it a ball."

■ **Jackson Hunting**
 So Jackson, whose National Football League season ended on the sidelines, may start the baseball season in the same place. The Associated Press reported from the Kansas City Royals' camp in Kansas City, Mo., that

left open the possibility on Wednesday that his hip injury may not heal by opening day.

Japan's Aim: America's Cup

By Barbara Lloyd

New York Times Service

SAN DIEGO — The day starts out simply enough for the 30 crewmen of Japan's America's Cup challenge team.

There is an hour of exercise: running, swimming or working out on weight machines at the team's compound, a sprawling apartment complex close to where the boats are docked at Mission Bay. Then there is breakfast.

Bowls of miso soup and seaweed, pan-fried fish, rice and green tea set a hearty oriental table. But how to explain the miniature boxes of breakfast cereals, the toast, yogurt, fried eggs, hot dogs and coffee?

Hikaru Shiraishi eats frankfurters by skewering them with the tips of his chopsticks. And Yoshiya Sasaki is adept at folding a fried egg in half and eating it with an omelet.

But the Western dishes have other palates to please, those of the five New Zealand yachtsmen who form the sailing backbone of Japan's first effort in history to win the America's Cup.

Few question the Nippon's potential successes in the computer-driven aspects of boat design. But finding experienced crewmen in Japan's fledgling yachting community was like spotting a buoy in fog-shrouded Sagami Bay near Tokyo.

Kaoru Ogimi, vice commodore of Japan's cup sponsor, the Nippon Ocean Racing Club, said recently in San Diego that his team was forced to look outside Japan for a crew.

The big question mark is, of course, the people, the software side. "I said Ogimi. The syndicate's answer was to hire Chris Dickson of New Zealand, the top-ranked match-racing skipper in the world."

"What we've been doing around the clock with him in our own camp is trying to reach out and go beyond Chris," said Ogimi.

To make the best use of Dickson's expertise, the Nippon group in 1987 bought two former America's Cup yachts to use as training vessels.

The boats happened to be the same 12-Meters, KZ 3 and KZ 5, that Dickson and his teammates sailed to a near victory four years ago in cup trial races in Australia.

The purchase was designed to help Japanese sailors prepare for even bigger boats: the new 76- to 78-foot (23.16- to 23.77-meter) International America's Cup Class yachts that will be sailed in the 1992 cup races here.

"None of us have ever sailed in boats of any size approximating these," said Ogimi of the 32 million dollar racing craft. The America's Cup class boats are 10 feet longer than most 12-Meters, and one-third lighter. They carry more sail area, and are faster downwind.

Even Dickson, who has sailed on everything from a seven-foot dinghy to an 80-foot maxi-boat, is impressed with the new class.

"These boats portray power," he said, while standing on the deck of JPN 6, the second of the syndicate's two identical new America's Cup class yachts. "When you look up, you see a cloud of sail. Suddenly it feels like a tiny little boat with a huge amount of sail area."

A budget of 6 billion yen (about \$40 million) has fueled the syndicate's extensive costs.

The promise of competition looms large. Syndicates from Italy, New Zealand and France are also in San Diego. By year's end, 12 challenge teams and two defenders are expected to be sailing.

Dickson had his first crack at sailing one of Japan's freshly built cup boats last April.

He and his crew launched the new breed of yachts in Gamagori City, Nippon's training camp 200 miles southwest of Tokyo. The boats were shipped to San Diego in mid-January.

For starters, the 29-year-old Dickson and the 40-year-old Makoto Namba, his Japanese team captain, have to acclimatize on the crew how to sail.

The first recruits answered newspaper advertisements placed by the syndicate. The ads called for individuals at least 175 centimeters tall (5 feet 9 inches) and weighing at least 62 kilograms (137 pounds).

Nearly 300 people, most with weak sailing skills but strong athletic backgrounds, responded.

One man thought he was trying out for a golf tournament. Ten were chosen after a battery of physical and psychological testing.

Known within the syndicate as the green crew, the novice sailors have put in more than 8,000 hours on the water since then.

Some conflict is falling onboard now and again, and embarrassment overboarded a seasoned sailor.

Language was a barrier at first, and to some degree, still is. There were reports that friction had developed on the boat during the early days because of communication problems. Dickson and Namba insist that those days are gone.

"Big-boat sailing is very systematic," said Namba at the docks last week. "Once we have established the system, there are not many opportunities to express yourself any other way."

The prospect of a world championship May 4-11 here for the new cup boats — a sort of dress rehearsal for the America's Cup trials next winter — has thrown training into high gear six days a week.

Thirty well-bred Japanese companies are behind the Nippon effort. Each has donated about \$650,000 to join a roster that organizers say hinges more on national pride than economic returns.

But the Japanese propensity for achieving also drives the syndicate.

"Japan is trying to catch up with the rest of the world," said Emili Mouri, a Nippon spokesman.

They are achieving in many other ways, and even moved forward. But in sport and culture, they have not caught up.

SCOREBOARD

BASKETBALL

NBA Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Atlantic Division

W	L	Pct	GB
Boston	27	16	.623
Philadelphia	31	26	.539
New York	28	32	.467
Washington	22	39	.357
Miami	19	40	.323
New Jersey	17	42	.288

Central Division

W	L	Pct	GB
Chicago	42	13	.767
Detroit	38	23	.621
Indiana	34	27	.558
Atlanta	34	28	.549
Charlotte	28	31	.475
Cleveland	23	37	.381
Orlando	17	42	.288

Western Conference

Midwest Division

W	L	Pct	GB
Utah	48	18	.692
San Antonio	34	24	.588
Houston	34	26	.565
Dallas	32	28	.533
Phoenix	29	31	.484
San Diego	19	38	.333
Minneapolis	16	41	.286
Denver	14	41	.254

Pacific Division

W	L	Pct	GB
Portland	42	14	.750
L.A. Lakers	42	17	.713
Phoenix	39	21	.652
Golden State	38	24	.611
Seattle	29	29	.500
L.A. Clippers	29	29	.500
Sacramento	18	41	.305

WEDNESDAY'S RESULTS

Philadelphia	97	84	76ers
Dallas	101	92	Mavericks
Boston	107	94	Pacers
San Antonio	104	92	Trail Blazers
Portland	104	92	Trail Blazers
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OBSERVER

A Wartime Vacation

By Russell Baker

NEW YORK — Wartime vacation diary:

Feb. 9: Usual sleepless night in a sleep, waking at 4:30 A.M., rising at 6, already exhausted. Sunny Florida cool. Drive from San Francisco 9 A.M. arrive Sausalito 3 P.M. Buy ready-made dinner.

Feb. 11: Reading John Cheever's journal in New York. Portrait of a hopeless alcoholic. Or is it? How can a hopeless alcoholic, desperate to have his first drink at 10 A.M., write so beautifully? Nobody writes well drunk. Theory: Cheever, a novelist living a stunningly dull suburban life, must have been desperate for material. No job to take him out of the house, into the city, into contact with other humans. So he had to turn himself into fictional material. Hence the deceptively written passages about alcoholism, homosexuality, rejection by wife. His wife exists here only as an outsider. What she's really like, the reader can't guess. Cheever makes no effort at understanding her. He's too busy inventing her as a character suitable for his fictional needs. It never occurs to him that a husband who is amorous only when drunk might be a bit tiresome to a woman. Well, only a theory.

Feb. 13: Ash Wednesday. Reports of 500 civilians killed in Baghdad bombing. I cringe, but why? Bombing usually kills people, and we've all been applauding it since Jan. 16, and admiring TV films of same. War's method is killing. I dislike the war for distracting us from everything we ought to be dealing with at home. Of course Bush isn't going to deal with these things anyhow, Congress either.

Feb. 15: Started "Rabbit At Rest." Rabbit's a commonplace guy, a salesman who never got beyond high school, and the point of view is very interior, that is, we're inside Rabbit's head, looking out at the world from there. The view from in there is highly literate, witty, ironic. Yet Rabbit's average-guy background doesn't create the kind of sensibility that savors irony with the acuity Updike builds into Rabbit. Lost to M. at Scarsdale.

Feb. 17: Alarming how the mind shuts down the instant it doesn't have to write journalism. Even writing this dull record is leaden

toil. Like moving your lips when you think. War running nonstop on CNN, totally stage-managed by Pentagon news producers so there's little sense of what it's like.

Feb. 19: Finish "Rabbit." Updike has really pulled it off. I think, though I'm agreeably uncertain about what "it" is, is Rabbit a human representation of America from Eisenhower to Bush? The episode in which he leads the July 4th parade as Uncle Sam seems to be saying so, but only second-rate professors think good writers are interested in composing coded messages.

Feb. 21: National Examiner headline at grocery this morning tells of woman "Raped and Tortured by Saddam Hussein." And he is on the radio just now with the usual bombast: martyrdom, mother of battles, etc.

Feb. 23: Bush's ultimatum expires in 10 minutes, after which — mother-of-battles time! Getting deep into the Middle East gives me goose bumps. Three thousand years of hatreds galore.

Feb. 24: The ground war in Arabia began at 4 A.M. their time. Schwarzkopf on at 8:30 A.M. reporting early successes. Our casualties "remarkably" light. Television is a farago of unexciting, boring film and disconnected reports from whoever is available to report from Jordan, Baghdad, Israel, London, Turkey, UN, White House, Pentagon. Even saw somebody interviewing the Iraqi Ambassador to Japan. Watched video of "Cinema Paradiso" mixed in with the war last night. Sentimental piece about a movie theater in Sicily in the movies' days of glory. Phone checks up on children revealed nothing alarming or wonderful. Just like life most of the time.

Feb. 26: The Iraqi Army seems to have been in full disarray since the first assault Sunday, and another day may already be over. Some mother. Bush's approval rating at about 10 percent of course. War is great when it works, and this is our kind of war.

Feb. 27: War obviously over. National Examiner headline at grocery this morning says, "Saddam Tortures and Kills Pet Cats, Dogs." Idea for adapting "Casablanca" to modern times: Bogart saying to Bergman, "We'll always have Wolf Blitzer."

New York Times Service

Making the Unorthodox Almost Commercial

By Mike Zwerin

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — On July 5, 1969, a hot afternoon during the waning days of "Swinging London," more than 600,000 people gathered in Hyde Park to hear a free concert by the Rolling Stones. Brian Jones had just died. Mick Jagger recited a poem in his honor. But King Crimson, one of four supporting bands, stole the show.

Word had been spreading around town since April, when they formed. This was only their third, and first major, performance. King Crimson presented the most complex, mature and ambitious rock music to date. It was obviously the next step. The band became fashionable later the same year with the release of the album, "In the Court of the Crimson King."

Personnel came and went. Greg Lake left to co-found Emerson, Lake and Palmer. Jazzy Keith Tippett was added for a while. Throughout the continuing permutations, leader and guitarist Robert Fripp guided the band in a more eccentric, dissonant and broad-based contemporary direction through 1975.

Over the years, between periods of teaching and retreat, Fripp collaborated with David Bowie, Bryan Ferry, Brian Eno, Peter Gabriel, Hall and Oates, Talking Heads, Robert Wyatt and Black Sabbath. Fripp joined King Crimson in 1981, with virtuoso bassist Tony Levin and the guitarist Adrian Belew, added Far Eastern and African rhythms and drew on minimalism. It was about as artistic as rock can get without becoming arty.

The inventor of "Frippertronics" and the "New Standard Guitar Tuning" — once guiding light of a band called The League of Gentlemen — was in Paris recently to promote his current project, The League of Crafty Guitarists. He started his musical career at the age of 18 working his way through economics and political history courses at Bournemouth Municipal College by playing bar mitzvahs and weddings with his friend Andy Summers, later one of

The Police. He spent three years selling real estate, being groomed to take over the family firm. But "after being a dutiful son for three years, in 1967, I began a year and a half of ignorance and unemployment as a musician in London."

The four original members of King Crimson considered them-

'Frippertronics' enables one person to create a great deal of noise.'

Robert Fripp

selves "failures, we were barely surviving." An executive from Island Records told them they had no image. Island's president Chris Blackwell said that was a big mistake and the "failures" were signed to the tune of £30 a week. Fripp describes the music as "severely left-field. It was also, ironically, the most commercial thing going at the time because there was no compromise in it."

He is told he's "not commercial" every time he comes up with a new project. Yet King Crimson's albums are still in the catalogue and selling, as are most of Fripp's "noncommercial" projects. "I may not be commercial," he says, "but my work is in the world of commerce and I'm making a living playing music. So I suppose I am 'not commercial' in the same way as 'My Left Foot' or 'Sex, Lies and Videotape' and 'The Godfather'."

A short, confident, erudite man with small round glasses and a prissy-voiced, precise vocabulary, he calls music "a tangible way of dealing with the intangible" and "the timeless within time." He explains Frippertronics, over-simplifying with a laugh: "It enables one person to travel and create a great deal of noise as a small self-contained unit." In fact it is a complicated state-of-the-art system of generating random repetition with pre-recorded loops played through two tape machines combined with Fripp's live overdubs.

Told that Frippertronics was not commercial, he supported the album by "meeting the ordinary people who actually do the work" in what he calls "the grubby and of the record business." He chose an area in West Germany and went to pressing plants, shipping rooms and sales offices explaining what he was doing. He played Frippertronics at lunch time in factory canteens, and for the song-pluggers and salesmen who serviced radio stations and record stores. He answered their questions. The result was that 80 percent of the West German sales came from the 20 percent of the territory he had covered. He had learned something about the nature of commerce.

He learned more when his record company gave him \$10,000 to support a two-month North American tour while the same company spent \$8,000 to throw a dinner for UK, another band on their roster. His organizer was "always repairing his instrument with one hand while playing it with the other. But we couldn't get the record company to finance a new instrument."

He wrote an article for Musician magazine about how it was "easier to be expensively wine and dined than to obtain musical hardware." It didn't change much, but he continues to make a living as a musician, proving, he continues to insist, the commercial nature of the noncommercial.

The League of Crafty Guitarists is the latest nonorthodox. Twelve musicians play a wide variety of richly textured, unconventional, polyrhythmic, often nonrhythmic material on Ovation shallow-body acoustic and electric guitars in his New Standard Tuning.

The new guitar tuning came to him at 10:30 one September morning in 1983. Increasingly dissatisfied with the standard tuning, Fripp had no thought of doing anything about it until "I was lying sweating in the Apple of Blecker and Thompson Streets in Greenwich Village and this new series of notes flew over my head."



For Fripp, music is "a tangible way of dealing with the intangible."

C.G.D.A.E.G. Just like that. It wasn't a rational conclusion. It was more like a jazz musician hears a phrase and plays it and that's just how it is.

"In the same way, my wife appeared." Six years ago he married his collaborator, the singer Toyah Willcox. "I was 39, creative, fulfilled, busy life. I had no wish to be married. But then I immediately recognized this beautiful little woman as my wife. I proposed in a week. Wonderful creature. That's how it is. It doesn't mean one is not discriminating, it's not arrogance, but one learns to work with hunches. You know this is it. Why? Because there's a resonance, an in-tuneness that you trust. And with that comes a certain kind of confidence."

"Although the world is in... you have to say it is at the very least a distressing situa-

tion, I trust providence and the hand of grace. Take a musical metaphor: Conflict is often necessary for the harmony to follow. I would trust in the harmony. In all things, however limited my perspective, there is harmony. The thread of the lead line. It comes to trust the benevolence of the creative impulse, the creative irrational, remarkable things can happen in your life."

It is somehow inevitable, he concludes by paraphrasing William Blake:

*He who catcheth joy as it flies
Learns to live in eternity's sunrise.
But he who doth bend to himself a
Joy
Doth the winged life destroy.*

Robert Fripp and The League of Crafty Guitarists: tour of Italy, Germany, France, The Netherlands and Spain through April 17.

PEOPLE

Family and Fans Crowded Gainsbourg's Funeral

Hundreds of fans went to the Montparnasse cemetery in Paris Thursday for a last farewell to the French pop singer and composer Serge Gainsbourg, who died on Saturday. A funeral service, held an hour before the officially announced time of the burial, was attended by the British actress Jane Birkin, his companion Bambou, his two children, Charlotte and Lulu, and other relatives and close friends — among them Michelle Rocard, wife of the French prime minister; Jack Lang, the minister of culture; the actresses Catherine Deneuve and Isabelle Adjani; and the singer Françoise Hardy. Gainsbourg was laid to rest only a short distance from the grave of the poet Charles Baudelaire.

After a 15-month engagement, Leo Iacocca, the Chrysler Corp. chairman, plans to marry wife No. 3 this month in Los Angeles. Iacocca and Darlene Earle, a Los Angeles restaurateur, will wed March 30. The marriage will be Earle's second. The automaker's first wife, Mary, died in 1983. He married Peggy Johnson in April 1986. They divorced less than two years later.

The wheelchair-bound physicist Stephen Hawking, author of the best-selling "A Brief History of Time," was knocked down by a taxi as he was being wheeled across a road in Cambridge, England. Hawking, whose theories on the origin of the universe have won him world renown, broke a shoulder and his voice synthesizer, which he uses to communicate, in the accident Tuesday. A hospital spokesman said on Thursday that 49-year-old Hawking had been released after treatment. Hawking has suffered for 25 years from motor neurone disease, which affects the control of muscles and can cause paralysis.

Publishers and moviemakers already are chasing after the rights to the story of Specialist Melissa Rathbun-Neely, the American woman taken prisoner in the Gulf war. Her father, Leo Rathbun of Newaygo, Michigan, said the flood of offers includes \$100,000 from the Globe, a supermarket tabloid.

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED

TODAY'S

REAL ESTATE MARKETPLACE

Appears on Page 10

PERSONALS

SACRED HEART OF JESUS, thanks for prayers answered, send a love again.

THANK YOUR ST. AIDE for prayers answered.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

denominational (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, etc.)

TECHNICAL WRITING CAREERS

EVENING PROGRAM BEGINS APRIL 23, 1991

This graduate-level certificate program trains you to work as a writer for technical, scientific, medical, engineering, computer, and business documents. Prerequisite: college writing skills. Computer experience not necessary. Courses in English followed by internship job placement assistance. After a free orientation session on Wed. March 13 at 10:00 AM, 34, Av. de New York, 75116 Paris.

HOLIDAYS & TRAVEL

HOLIDAYS & TRAVEL

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